Workers, Oppressed Nations and People of the World,

UNITE!

Marxist-Leninist
Organizing Committee
BOX 26457, S.F., CA 94126 USA

Vol 2, No. 6 *December - January* *1976 - 1977* **25¢**

STRUGGLE IN STEEL

Tremendous changes are taking place in the ranks of the steel workers and the United Steel Workers Union (U S W A) The struggle against the union bureaucrats who control the U S W is stepping up, as steelworkers prepare for the union election in February and contract negotiations later in the year The sharpening struggle around the union elections and fundamental rank and file issues is a reflection of the fact that since the last national steel strike in 1959, the capitalist class has taken increasing steps to try to ensure that the steelworkers and the U S W remain reliable and loyal wage slaves But the strangle-hold on the U S W by the capitalists is beginning to break down, and *the struggle in steel is getting hotter by the day*

The present election struggle in the U S W between the old bureaucratic forces of I W Abel and Co , now represented by Lloyd McBride (Director of District 34, St Louis) and the reformist forces headed by Ed Sadlowski (District Director #31 Chicago-Gary), while offering no genuine choice for the steel worker has sharply underlined the growing contradictions within the union and the entire trade union movement

But the question of the upcoming election is only part of a much larger question facing steelworkers -- that of how all the capitalists, revisionists and reformists can be driven out of the unions so that the unions may be re-established as real organizing centers for the proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie *Our struggle is to drive the labor bureaucrats out of the unions and to fight for genuine working class control of the trade unions This is a pre-requisite for the emancipation of the working class and the establishment of socialism*

CONDITIONS WORSEN

The steel industry, along with auto and coal, forms the backbone of the capitalist economy the very legs on which the imperialist bourgeoisie must stand in its drive for world hegemony The bourgeoisie needs steel for ships, for auto, machinery, trucks, planes, and for construction And the bourgeoisie needs steel to wage imperialist war For the ruling class the maintenance of steel production is of vital importance as imperialism's general crisis places greater and greater strain on capitalism -- economically, politically, and militarily

As an outgrowth of the strategic importance of this sector of the economy, *the U S W A has been a prime target for bourgeois subversion since its founding in 1942* Through agents such as I W Abel, the bourgeoisie has spared no effort to divert the militant struggles of steelworkers along the path of peaceful reform, and to use its successes in steel as a precedent for other industries and unions Through such steps as the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (E N A) and the establishment in 1971 of joint Committees on Productivity the bureaucrats of the U S W have spearheaded the bourgeoisie's offensive and collaborationist drive to increase the exploitation of the working class The

Cont p 8

HAIL THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

Thirty-five years ago on November 8, 1941, the Communist Party of Albania, now the Party of Labor of Albania, was founded in the heat of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist liberation war Three years later, Albania was liberated and the Peoples Republic of Albania was established

In the last thirty-five years the Party of Labor of Albania, headed by its First Secretary, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has led the entire people of Albania in the victorious task of socialist construction and the historic international struggles against Titoism, Khrushchovite revisionism, U S imperialism and all forms of reaction and opportunism

In November, the Party of Labor of Albania successfully convened its Seventh Congress Following upon the victories of previous party congresses, the Seventh Party Congress comes at a time when a new socialist constitution has been drafted, important new measures to improve socialist relations of distribution have been implemented, the first Albanian brand of pig iron has been produced, and numerous other historic strides in the struggle for socialist construction and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat have taken place

The Seventh Party Congress proceeded at every turn on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle and proletarian internationalism, and has contributed a profound analysis of the present international situation, the development of the workers and communist movement, and the struggle against imperialism and opportunism

The Central Committee of the MLOC is proud to publish at this time a summary produced by the Albanian Telegraphic Agency of the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Seventh Party Congress We urge all comrades, militant workers and friends to very carefully study this report, together with the full texts issued by the Party of Labor of Albania, REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE SEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA by Enver Hoxha, and REPORT ON THE SIXTH FIVE YEAR PLAN, by Mehmet Shehu, both which will be available soon in bookstores

available as a pamphlet:

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA, Albanian Telegraphic Agency, 1976 25¢, Available from the MLOC

MASSES PROTEST

Fascist Violence and National Oppression

All across the country the Black, Chicano and other people of oppressed nations and national minorities suffer national oppression at the hands of the capitalist class Brutal murders, lynchings, rapes, jailing, beatings, and poverty daily plague the oppressed people of this country Lenin pointed out that, "the policy of oppressing nations is one of dividing nations At the same time it is a policy of systematic corruption of the peoples' minds "

In response to this capitalist plan to oppress and divide the multi-national working class, workers of all nationalities have joined together to resist

JOSE BARLOW BENAVIDEZ

Murdered in California

Last June 11, Jose Barlow Benavidez, a 27 year old Chicano from east Oakland, California, was murdered by a rookie cop In response the Jose Barlow Benavidez Committee Against Police Crime has arisen to bring justice for Barlow
See page 12

JAMES EDWARD CALHOUNE

Lynched in Mississippi

On September 8, 1976, a sixteen year old Black man, James Edward Calhoune was found floating in the Sunflower River, hands tied behind his back, shot to death Build the struggle for justice for James Edward Calhoune! See page 13

GARY TYLER

Struggle Continues

Gary Tyler is now being held in St James Parish Prison, Louisiana. In the meantime, across the country the struggle to free Gary Tyler is building, including the formation of the Peoples Defense Committee to Free Gary Tyler and Fight Injustice in New Orleans Demonstrations continue and more and more workers are rallying to the Gary Tyler struggle.

Child-care p.4
Clairton p.10
Miners' Pensions p.6
J.P. Stevens p.15

EDITORIALS

CARTER ELECTION - No Victory For The Working Class

The narrow election of Jimmy Carter by a mere one-fourth of the elegible voting public of this country signals an important development in the deepening of the general crisis of imperialism and the oppression of the Black Nation

Carter represents the landed aristocracy of the ruling class in the Black Belt South There, from roots in chattel slavery, a historically constituted stable community of people, with a common territory, language, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture has developed, due to the failure of reconstruction and the continuing oppression by the imperialist bourgeoisie This is the historical and material basis for the existence of the oppressed Black Nation It is no accident that today in the midst of the grave sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, when the factors for both war and revolution are increasing, that the bourgeoisie advanced Jimmy Carter for president

With the rise of the national liberation movements and the deepening deterioration of US imperialism since World War II, the loss of China, Korea, Indochina, parts of Africa, and other realms from the grips of imperialist plunder, and the growing contention with Soviet social-imperialism, the Black Belt South has become increasingly important to US imperialism as a source of super-profits to sustain the sinking imperialist ship

At the same time, the growing strength and militancy of the multi-national working class struggle, and particularly the struggle of the Afro-American people in the Nlack Nation for self-determination, daily presents a bigger and bigger threat to imperialist rule in the South. The recent struggles of Joann Little and Gary Tyler are a reflection of this historical trend

With the selection of Carter the bourgeoisie hopes to reverse the tide of history. Carter's presidency will aid in the intensification of the exploitation and oppression of the Black Nation Carter will become the means by which the bourgeoisie seeks to integrate increasing numbers of Black bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces into the state apparataus, by "bringing them to Washington"

Not only will Carter's presidency become the vehicle for intensified exploitation of the masses working in industry and agriculture, but the new Southern White House in Plaines will become the justification for a vast and extensive police and security operation in the South, in order to "protect the President " In reality, this is a means to beef up the occupying army in the Black Belt South to suppress future struggles for self-determination

All this, and more, will be sugar-coated in a cloak of down-home Baptist morality and sentimentality in an effort to create an identity between the church and the state, politics and religion, patriotism with morality and, obviously, dissent with sin Who, better than one of the "good ol' boys" from Georgia, will be able to rallv the reactionary forces to protect "God and Country" from the rising revolutionary tide of the masses in the South.

There is a new South coming, but not the South of peanuts and smiles It is the growing class struggle and the call for self-determination of the Black Nation which is the future tide of the South The ruling bourgeois dictatorship hopes to stem this revolutionary tide by bringing Jimmy Carter to Washington.

It is our duty to spare no effort in bringing the revolutionary strength of the entire multi-national working class into the struggle for self-determination of the Black Nation, up to and including secession, by mobilising every form of political and material support throughout the U S , in every factory and field

The fight for self-determination, up to and including secession for the Black Nation in the Black Belt South is a mighty weapon against US imperialism, a fight with internaitonal significance. In carrying forward this historic struggle, we must expose and defeat every maneuver of this fascist aristocrat from Plaines

TO OUR READERS

This is the last issue of UNITE! to be published bi-monthly Beginning in February, UNITE' will appear monthly until the middle of the year, when UNITE' will be published bi-weekly We call upon all comrades and militant workers to join in the campaign to make UNITE' a biweekly publication We ask your political contributions, letters, assistance in the distribution of UNITE', financial assistance and any other contribution you can offer

These important developments in UNITE' reflect the growing emergence of a definite revolutionary trend in the workers movement, a trend which aims its struggle directly at the need for the establishmert of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and a trend built upon genuine Marxist-Leninist unity We call upon all comrades and friends to help build UNITE' into a powerful weapon in the class struggle Our aim is nothing short of the production of a daily mass paper with a distribution of hundreds of thousands, and eventually millions

UNITE' is actively being developed into a collective propagandist, collective agitator and collective organizer In the main, UNITE' will become a national forum for agitation, while COMMUNIST LINE, our theoretical journal will present much of our written propaganda UNITE' will increasingly become a paper for the working class to respond about the day-to-day struggles against capitalist exploitation and oppression, aiming blows directly at the bourgeoisie and their agents, the revisionists and reformists

The development of a revolutionary party press is a crucial aspect of forging a vanguard communist party We call upon all comrades and workers to actively take up the call to build UNITE', to distribute UNITE', to make UNITE' the collective organizer required to mobilize the masses against tne capitalist class

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY

The Central Committee of the MLOC warmly congratulates Comrade Enver Hoxha on re-election at the recent Seventh Party Congress as First Secretary of the Party of Labor of Albania Founding the Party of Labor of Albania and leading the Party and the entire people through both storm and triumph, Enver Hoxha is an outstanding succesor to the revolutionary cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung

Celebrating its 35th Anniversary, the Party of Labor of Albania stands as a beacon of socialist construction and a staunch defender of the interests of the workers and oppressed people of the entire world The recent conclusion of the historic Seventh Party Congress led by Comrade Hoxha, has scored many important new victories for the people of Albania, the Party of Labor of Albania, and the progressive and revolutionary people of the world All workers and oppressed people in the United States are encouraged by the MLOC to carefully study the forthcoming decisions of the Seventh Party Congress and to forge an iron friendship between the people of Albania and the people of the United States

With the re-election of Comrade Enver Hoxha as First Secretary of the Party of Labor of Albania, the people of Albania will continue to achieve great sucesses and further the eventual triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat worldwide

LONG LIFE TO COMRADE ENVER HOXHA !
FORGE THE MILITANT SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AND ALBANIA !
LONG LIVE THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA !

The Central Committee of the MLOC warmly congratulates Comrade Hua Kuo-Feng on election to Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China , Founded by Comrade Mao Tsetung, the Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and correct party firmly advancing on the course charted by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung The election of Chairman Hua Kuo-Feng is a fresh victory for the people of China and the Communist Party of China in the struggle to perservere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat

Proletarian leaders are born in the midst of class struggle of the proletariat to become a class conscious of its world historic mission In China, the intensification of the struggle against revisionism and all capitalist roaders is an inevitable and important part of the all around struggle for socialist construction The purging of the "gang of four" and the intensification of the two-line struggle against all bourgeois elements, right inside the Communist Party of China, are signs of the health and vanguard nature of the Communist Party of China, and represent important new chapters in the protracted struggle toward communist society.

HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT !
LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA !

Seek To Unite; Not To Split

On Friday, October 29, 1976 certain elements rallied around the Workers' Viewpoint Organization (WVO) managed to disrupt the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee's conducting of a forum in Washington, D C

This statement is issued by the Central Committee of the MLOC to explain to comrades and friends our view of the event and the political significance of this latest sectarian act by the WVO

CONTENTS
- --WHAT HAPPENED ?
- --WHY DID THIS HAPPEN AND WHO IS RESPONSIBLE ?
- --MLOC'S LINE ON POLEMICS AND MARXIST-LENINIST UNITY
- --WVO AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WING
- --THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE WORKING CLASS

15¢ from MLOC, Box 26457,
S F, CA 94126, U S A

subscribe!

UNITE' is the political organ of the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee, published bi-monthly

One year $7 00

PO BOX 26457
San Francisco,
CA 94126

Name______________________

Address____________________

____

CONTENTS

MLOC's October Forums p.3
Child-care p.4
Anniversary of Lenin's Death p 5
Castro's Troops in Angola p.5
Miners' Pensions p 6
Old Age & Capitalism p.6
Lenin on the Trade Unions p 7
The Struggle in Steel p.8,9
CLP -- CPUSA Unity p.10
Clairton Coke Struggle p 10
Barlow Benevidez p.12
Housing in the Black Belt South p.14
J. P. Stevens p.15
Ebony Fashion Fair p 15

Uphold Proletarian Internationalism

Build The United Front Against The Two Superpowers

The months of October and November mark the anniversaries of the Russian and Chinese Revolutions All over the world, workers and oppressed people pause to celebrate these great holidays of the working class, and focus attention on the unfinished tasks of socialist revolution During the month of October, the Central Committee of the MLOC conducted political presentations on the responsibilities of proletarian internationalism to workers and comrades in several important industrial and political centers in the U S

Whether to uphold proletarian internationalism or national chauvinism has always been a question of class stand *The great Karl Marx pointed out that no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations*

It is the class stand of the proletariat that determines its adherence to proletarian internationalism It is the very nature of imperialism to divide nations, and it is the historic task of the proletariat to unite the workers and oppressed people of the world in struggle against imperialism

This great truth led Lenin to recognize, shortly after the historic Bolshevik victory, that,

> "We have never made a secret of the fact that our revolution is only the beginning, that its victorious end will come only when we have lit up the whole world with these same fires of revolution " (Collected Works, Vol 29, p 502, Progress Pub)

Mao Tsetung, after the founding of the Peoples Republic of China, stated that,

> "China has an obligation to make a greater contribution to humanity." (Peking Information, No 8, 2/24/69, p 7)

Based upon an analysis of the four fundamental contradictions in the world today, the MLOC advanced four corresponding calls to action which comprise the essence of proletarian internationalism todav for workers in the U S It is one thing to mouth fine slogans, but it is entirely another to define proletarian internationalism in terms of the actual practical activity required to fulfill our internationalist duty

Proletarian internationalism today requires

1 *Concrete support for all socialist countries and the dictatorship of the proletariat where it exists*
2 *Support for all national liberation struggles which objectively weaken imperialism*
3 *Opposition to all Superpower war preparations and imperialist aggression*
4 *Support for the struggles of the multi-national working class oppressed nationalities, oppressed minorities and oppressed women in the United States*

The main content of the presentations included a commemoration of Mao Tsetung, a brief analysis of the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism, a concrete discussion of each of the four tasks of proletarian internationalism, a report on party building, and a brief discussion of our final aim, a communist society. In different cities, the content of the program varied in accord with the context in which it was presented

HISTORY OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The concrete tasks of proletarian internationalism change and develop with the growth of the class struggle of the proletariat. The COMMUNIST MANIFESTO by Marx and Engels issued the first great call of proletarian internationalism, *"Working men of all countries, unite'"* For over sixty years this historic call guided the workers of the entire world in their common struggle against exploitation and oppression As the competitive stage of capitalism gave way to the monopoly and parasitic stage, imperialism, Lenin inherited, defended and developed the great call of Marx to apply to the changing conditions. *"Workers of all countries and oppressed nations, unite'"* Lenin recognized the absolute necessity for the unity of action between the workers of the capitalist countries and the oppressed nations and colonies. The struggles of the workers in the capitalist ountries and of the oppressed nations and colonies, inevitably assist each other Then, after the anti-fascist war, WWII, Comrade Mao Tsetung recognized the profound re-alignment of class forces that had taken place in the world and called for the *United Front Against U S Imperialism* With the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, Mao Tsetung issued the call for the *United Front Against Both Superpowers*

There is no way to carry forward the historic mission of the proletariat, the glorious tradition of the October revolutions, without concretely defining the unfinished tasks of the proletariat Lenin stated in 1921, that

> "the best way to celebrate the anniversary of a great revolution is to concentrate attention on its unsolved problems."

CONCRETE TASKS

In the past, many revolutionaries had seen October as simply a time to celebrate only the Chinese and Russian revolutions On this question, and many others, there is a sharp two-line struggle The MLOC recognizes that the significance of the Russian and Chinese revolutions extend far beyond Russia and China -- and that *all the socialist countries, where ever there is a dictatorship of the proletariat, must be seen as a direct extension of the glorious revolution in Russia in 1917* Therefore in October the MLOC brought to light the great victories not only in China, but in Albania, Korea, Vietnam, and Romania

In discussing the significance of the protracted struggle waged by our Vietnamese comrades against French and U S imperialism, the achievements of Juche (self-reliance) in North Korea or the remarkable Childrens Palaces, the important role that Romania is playing in the fight for an independent Europe, or the new socialist system of distribution and wages implemented in Albania, we explained how the dictatorship of the proletariat really works to improve the daily life of the people.

At the same time, some elements opposed this discussion, stating that we should only celebrate the Chinese revolution This is a national chauvinist stand, which denies the duty to universally support the dictatorship of the proletariat wherever it exists, and that we cannot ignore this duty because some socialist countries are small, or because in the past, we have ignored the duty to learn about all socialist countries In addition, the MLOC pointed out the importance of building friendship associations with the peoples of all socialist countries -- and that these associations must be built primarily on the friendship between the working class of the socialist countries and the U S.

At the same time, *the need to link concrete support for the dictatorship of the proletariat to the struggle of the national liberation movements, the struggle to oppose imperialist war, and the revolutionary struggle of the working class in this country was clearly presented*

A genuine vanguard party must actively and materially support all national liberation movements which objectively weaken imperialism A clear teacher by negative example here is the so called Revolutionary Communist Party - who has never undertaken a single major national campaign in support of national liberation movements, and failed to mobilize the workers in opposition to the war in Indochina (when they were the Revolutionary Union) under the pretext that the workers will not understand this question). Our task is to launch a massive campaign of propaganda and agitation in support of all genuine national liberation movements, to actively mobilize the masses in their support Our failure to carry on this responsibility leaves the workers vulnerable to the influence of the revisionists and reformists, as was the case around Angola, and to some degree around Azania

At the same time, in discussing the necessary preparations for superpower war, the MLOC spoke to the importance of our attitude toward the state, the importance of secret work, and the importance of *actually organizing* to turn an imperialist war into a civil war.

The basic Marxist-Leninist position on these three questions was then linked to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U S , and the three strategic tasks of forging the vanguard communist party, the united front and the armed revolutionary struggle

The MLOC reported to the workers on the progress to forge the vanguard communist party, the key link in our revolutionary struggle today

FORGE THE VANGUARD COMMUNIST PARTY

In this discussion the MLOC briefly summed up the history for the struggle for a party since the degeneration of the "C"PUSA in 1944, and spoke directly to the essence of party building, the fusion of communism with the workers' movement In contrast to the abstract discussions of groups such as WVO and ATM about the "advanced worker", the MLOC pointed out how industrial and political concentration was essential to forging a vanguard party and winning over the advanced - a task which cannot be accomplished by a left bloc sitting in a closet in New York or Los Angeles While all the discussion about the advanced worker had produced a lot of heat, little light had resulted, except for those Marxist-Leninists who had actually taken this question into the big factories, mills, mines and fields of this country

A particularly important point raised was the question of what kind of a party must we build The MLOC has set out not to build a party of a few dozen, a few hundred or even a few thousand, but a party of the millions of workers, a party which actually represents the majority of the people And further, that this must be a party not only for the working class, but of the working class, that the working class composition of the party must be guaranteed

At the same time, it was pointed out that the truest test of proletarian internationalism for the working class in the U S is the stand toward the oppressed Black Nation in the Black Belt South - and this ran as a revolutionary thread throughout the entire program

The program was concluded by pointing out the necessity to link the day-to-day struggles with the final aims of our movement, communist society That the vanguard communist role is to link the immediate struggle for economic demands, defense of basic democratic rights, the struggle for democracy and opposition to imperialist war with the protracted struggle for a classless society, communism

Again, on all of these questions, sharp two-line struggle appeared There were those who argued that we cannot link the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat to the question of national liberation struggles, imperialist war and party building There were those who sought to divert the discussion simply to the question of party building

On one instance, in Washington, D C., the WVO and its associates actually managed to disrupt the presentation we outlined on the pretext of the need to only discuss party building The events of this struggle are outlined in SEEK TO UNITE, NOT TO SPLIT.

CLASS STRUGGLE ADVANCED

The presentations made by the CC of the MLOC represent a significant advance for the workers' struggle in this country, and an important contribution toward defining the true *internationalist character of the vanguard party we are building The struggle of the workers of this country was concretely linked to the struggle of the workers and oppressed people of the world The key link of party building today, which is the necessity to fuse communism with the workers' movement, was clearly tied to the long-term tasks of proletarian revolution, socialist construction and communism*

In many parts of the country, very significant advances were achieved in building a genuine multi-national program, indicating the basic multi-national character of the vanguard party we are building Many workers commented on the bold, party style of work that was presented, and the importance of the internationalist stand toward the tasks of the workers of this country

Other workers in summing up the events, pointed out how Marxism-Leninism can become a torch which illuminates and clarifies the road ahead, connects all our various tasks, orders them, and allows us to carry forward the cause of the proletariat with confidence and self-assurance And further, that through such discussion the pressing need for a genuine vanguard communist party, to unite all these tasks as the fingers on a single fist striking a death blow at monopoly capitalism, becomes clearer and clearer

In future articles the MLOC will talk more of the concrete tasks of proletarian internationalism and the struggle to forge a united front against the two superpowers

Today, two worlds stand facing each other locked in combat, the world of capital and the world of labor As internationalists, the workers of America will stand resolutely with the workers and oppressed people of the entire world The victory of one is a victory for all

WORKERS, OPPRESSED NATIONS, AND PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE'

HOW DO WE TAKE UP THE STRUGGLE FOR CHILD-CARE?

With the cost of living increasing daily and wage increases trailing far behind, more and more women are leaving the household to seek work The women's movement has brought pressure on the state and industries to open up jobs for women in all fields, resulting in many companies having a quota of positions to be filled by women Although it has increased the possibilities for working women beyond the secretarial, service, and domestic jobs, it is only a token gesture because it is unaccompanied by any means to making it possible

WHAT IS PREVENTING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN SOCIALIZED PRODUCTION?

One factor preventing women from getting jobs in production is the lack of training provided by public schools or by the state Jobs in basic industry have opened up to women In steel, for example, most companies have a quota of jobs to be filled specifically by women But in the city of Pittsburgh, the heart of the steel industry, there are very few training programs to teach women the skills they need to work in a steel mill (There are plenty of schools for bookkeeping, accounting, and business, however) Not surprisingly, Pittsburgh has the lowest percentage of working women of any city in the United States

Another factor keeping women out of production is their equality on paper, but harassment on the job Many companies say, "Of course we don't discriminate against women However, we do not yet have facilities for women employees " They do not stay that they don't intend to have facilities for female employees But if a woman happens to get hired at such a plant, chances are, her presence there will be considered a joke She may have to spend her breaks travelling to and from the one women's bathroom, she will have to prove her brawn and stamina to foremen that expect her to fail, and she may certainly have to do perfect work to make it past her first 30-60 day probation period Life for a women in a previously all-man shop is not a picnic -- especially when the company makes it clear that this "equality" was not their idea

But the biggest factor in preventing women from entering production on a large scale is their double exploitation and oppression as domestic slaves and wage-slaves it is the burden of their household responsibilities, primarily child-care Child-care that working women can afford is a major problem for both women looking for work and those who have always worked

There are few if any companies in the U S providing child-care for their employees The only time that child-care has been provided by the state for working class families, was during the World Wars, when women, as part of the reserve army of labor, were called upon to work in war production After the wars, the child-care centers disappeared, along with the jobs for women

Today the majority of women are still locked into the role of housewife The narrow, individual household unit limits women's participation in the class struggle It does not place her side by side with other workers in socialized labor, but keeps her in a feudal-type production unit, necessarily limiting her world view and ability to work for the class

The ability of capitalism to provide jobs for women is very limited, but women's need for jobs will continue and increase Along with it will increase the demand for child-care

IS CHILD-CARE A WOMEN'S DEMAND?

There is particular importance in the demand for child-care for women But child-care is a demand of the entire class The lack of child-care is a problem which confronts both families and single parents It is a problem for working people of all national backgrounds Public child-care and other facilities to take the responsibilities of the individual household off women's shoulders, frees them to take part in socialized production It has been to the advantage of the bourgeoisie to keep women in individual household units When women have gotten jobs on a large scale, it has been because the needs of capitalism demanded it By taking women in and out of production -- at lower wages then men, and with no promises of job security from the bosses -- capitalism has also been able to drive down the wages and working conditions of the men The labor of women in production outside the home has been used by the bourgeoisie as a material threat to men's jobs, and as a means to divide the class

It is to the advantage of the working class as a whole to free women to take part in united action against the bourgeoisie Raising women's position in society will raise the conditions and fighting ability of the class as a whole

The degree to which the working class can successfully wage struggle against the bourgeoisie, is the degree to which women can take part in that struggle And the long-term equality of women will be determined by their level of participation in the class struggle

WHO SHOULD SUPPLY THE CHILD-CARE?

The struggle should be for the companies to provide child-care to the workers and their families, at no reduction in tneir wages and other benefits However, the struggle should not be directed at individual companies alone, but should demand that national law require the provision of child-care The socialization of individual household tasks needs to be done on the broadest scale possible, which will only begin to be achieved under socialism This process is a protracted one-one which involves many other demands in addition to child-care, and which cannot be complete until class society is entirely crushed Although it is possible that such public facilities could be provided under capitalism, the nature of class society would mean that they necessarily would be operated for profit, so that they would still be a source of exploitation of the class

Even so, the demand must be raised to the level of the bourgeois State, so that the struggle can be taken up on a national scale

WHO SHOULD TAKE UP THE STRUGGLE?

The trade unions -- the organized representatives of the united interests of the working class. The trade unions are the broadest organizations of the working class, providing a network of communication and action among men and women, among workers of all national backgrounds, through industries and to other industries, national and international The unions are capable of representing the interests of the entire working class, as well as the special demands of particular groups of workers, by responding to the problems that the workers face as an oppressed and exploited class Historically the unions have proved to be a powerful weapon of the working class struggling in unity against the bourgeoisie

Presently the unions are in the hands of the bourgeoisie They are a tool of the bourgeoisie for maintaining their control over the working class, and are therefore consciously operated to keep the class divided This is apparent by the attitude of the trade unions historically toward working women The unions have served to deepen the divisions in the class among women and men by failing to organize women or allow them in the ranks of major unions, by maintaining the gap between men and women's wages and positions, and by failing to take up the questions of special importance to women such as maternity leave, child-care, and job training

But the historic role of the trade unions is as organizing centers of the class against the bourgeoisie. They remain to be recaptured by the working class and used to struggle for just such needs as child-care

The demand for child-care should also be taken up by other organizations of the masses such as multi-national women's organizations, community organizations, and welfare rights groups Above all, it should be raised and promoted by the party of the working class The communist party would have the ability to coordinate the separate struggles of the working class for child-care into a powerful and consistant campaign As well, the party would best be able to link the struggle for child-care to other demands of the working class, showing the unity of interests of all workers, and the devotion of the party to serve them Both internally and among the masses the party would practice and promote the equality of all toiling and oppressed people The party will lay the material basis for this to be practiced throughout society by leading the proletariat to the seizure of state power

HOW DO WE TAKE UP THF STRUGGLF FOR CHILD-CARE?

First of all, the need for child-care is not new to working people. It is a problem that every family has faced, either with their own children, or as children that were shuttled from Grandma's to Auntie's every other day. It is not new to employed women who "choose" between spending a good deal of time watching and chauffering their children, or sending them to a day-care center that they can barely afford. This is no small matter when one-third of the U S. families headed by women are at or below the poverty level Most any working person has a sister, mother, or friend who has experienced the problem of child-care, if they have not experienced it themselves The problem needs to be raised to the level of a demand

Start with the conditions in your work-place Are there women employees? What do they do about child-care? Older women who are no longer raising children will have experiences and ideas Women who have not yet had children have probably thought about it

What about the men? Do their wives and girlfriends work? How do they handle child-care? Are there single men with children? They will certainly have ideas

If there are no women in your work-place, find out why not If you are one of just a few women in your shop, find out if the company has a quota, find out if there is a history of women being hired on probation then fired the day before it is up

Ask the workers in your plant how many children they have, what they pay for child-care, and if the child-care is adequate for their needs and their childrens'

If there is no union in your shop, find out why not If there is a union, are there many women in it? (Lack of child-care can keep women from union meetings, too!) Has the problem of child-care for employees ever been raised at a union meeting? If it hasn't been, raise it

Come to know the needs of the workers and their families in your plant, and raise their needs to a concrete demand Make your union serve its purpose by serving the needs of the class Take the demand for child-care home to your community also, and get your fellow workers to do the same Demand that child-care be mandatory under national law

The struggle for child-care taken up by the trade unions and other mass organizations, is an important demand around which unity can be built among all workers The struggle for child-care is both a question of the short and long-term equality of women in society, and of the unity of the class

Communists and advanced workers need not wait for the demand to be raised by the masses themselves there are plenty of reasons in their conditions under capitalism that tell them not to We will win the trust of the masses by always taking the first steps in their behalf against the bourgeoisie ★

LONG LIVE LENINISM!

January 21 of this year marks the 53rd anniversary of the death of Vladimir I. Lenin, founder of the Russian Bolshevik Party, heroic leader of the Great October Revolution, Chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars and of the the Council of Labor and Defense of the first socialist state in the history of the world, and founder of the Communist International

One year after Lenin's birth in 1871 the world saw the first dress rehearsal of the proletarian revolution, the epoch-making uprising of the Paris Commune Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Commune, Marx stated that the "Principles of the Commune are eternal and indestructible", and that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and use it for its own purposes Forty-six years after this historic lesson, the Russian October Revolution continued and developed this principle of Marxism with the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat under the leadership of Lenin Thus, under the glorious red banner of Leninism, dawned a new era in human history, that of the Proletarian Revolution

Although Lenin had repeatedly demonstrated the correct application of Marxism to the conditions of the Russian revolutionary movement as early as 1893, it was through the October Revolution that Lenin's call resounded throughout the world, a call that terrified the bourgeoisie internationally and at the same time mobilized and transformed the international working class in such a way as to set the basis for carrying out their historic mission, the overthrow of moribund and decadent capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist construction, the eventual elimination of classes and exploitation of man by man, and the realization of Communism

Lenin's call is powerful only because it is correct It is correct because it is based on the science of Marxism which explains the laws of development of nature and society It is correct because its theoretical foundation is dialectical and historical materialism And finally, because it comes out of objective reality and in the objective world has proven itself the most correct, most scientific and the most revolutionary truth

After the death of the great proletarian teachers, Marx and Engels, the international workers' movement was set adrift by the rank opportunism and social chauvinism of the leaders of the Second International It was against these renegades that Lenin drew a clear course for the international proletariat, denouncing their "socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, the growth of opportunism into imperialism" (Collected Works, Vol 29, P 63) It was in his valiant struggle against imperialism and opportunism of all kinds, especially revisionism, that Lenin inherited, defended and developed Marxism to a new and higher stage, the stage of Leninism Comrade Stalin teaches us that "Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution" (Stalin, WORKS, Vol 6, P 63)

Leninism was developed in and is applied to the struggle against imperialism and in relation to its opposite, opportunism and revisionism The great red flag of Leninism was first unfurled over the U S in 1915 concerning the two-line struggle over support of the war-- national chauvinism or true internationalism Then again in 1918 and 1919 in letter to American workers and to the workers of Europe and America, Lenin explained the international duty of defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat against bourgeois reaction and the nature of the social-traitors, the "Gomperses" and the labor aristocracy, "agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement"

On numerous questions of trade unions Lenin split assunder the notions of dual unionism, pure and simple trade unionism, the overestimation of spontaneity and the underestimation of conscious revolutionary action, all historic trends in the U S

Lenin clearly analyzed the nature of imperialism as reaction all along the line, stating, "contemporary militarism is the result of capitalism" and contemporary war "arises out of the very nature of imperialism" (CW, Vol 15, P 168, Vol 29, P 168) This along with the Leninist theory of the state places social-chauvinist groups such as the "Communist" Party, U S A , as clear covers for the bloody designs of the bourgeoisie Their bidder for the presidency of the U S bourgeois state, Gus Hall, lies to the people that they will "cut the military budget by 80% and 'outlaw racism'"!

Leninism teaches the U S working class what revisionism is and how, if in state power, it will bring about the most ferocious reaction, such as was seen in Germany after the imperialist World War I Not applying the teachings of Lenin on revisionism, imperialism and the role of continuous class struggle even under the dictatorship of the proletariat, leads the U S centrists into covering for the counterrevolutionary "new Tsars" of the USSR and attacking the upholders of Marxism-Leninism

Leninism has guided the working class movement in the U S on the national question, pointing out the strong tendency of national chauvinism within our movement This has led the way to a continuous two-line struggle, beginning with the "C"PUSA in the early half of the century to the recent struggle against the oppressor nation chauvinism and liquidationism of such groups as the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, the Communist Labor Party, the Progressive Labor Party, and more recently, the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee Only under the great banner of Leninism will this opportunism be smashed in order that the multi-national working class may sieze state power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U S !

Lenin, as the leader and founder of the great Bolshevik Communist Party, has demonstrated through theory and practice what the nature of the instrument of the seizure and consolidation of state power and elimination of classes will be. This great instrument is the Communist Party, a party of the new type, a Marxist-Leninist party. Leninism teaches the U S. working class there will be no victory without such a party, a party that has mastered the advanced theory of Marxism-Leninism, purged itself of all opportunist and revisionist pollution This party must approach its successes and failures with Leninist principles of criticism and self criticism and have close ties to the masses in the making of history Such is the Party of Lenin! The creation of such a party is the central task of the multi-national working class This party is our Leninist heritage!

On the death of the great leader of the international proletariat and oppressed peoples, Comrade Stalin vowed in the name of the party

> "We communists are people of a special mould We are made of a special stuff We are those who form the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honour of belonging to this army There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party whose founder and leader is Comrade Lenin "

LONG LIVE GREAT MARXISM!

LONG LIVE GREAT LENINISM!

LONG LIVE GREAT MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

Fidel Castro's troops continue to kill and maim the people in Angola

Even though Fidel Castro has promised to withdraw Cuban troops from Angola since last May, as many as 10,000 Cuban troops still remain to "assist" the Neto government still centered in Luanda At this time the civil war in Angola continues, especially in the southern areas where the Benguela Railroad has been consistently closed by UNITA forces Today UNITA fighters and the population along the rail line are standing firm against Soviet social-imperialism and Cuban adventurism, vowing to drive the Cubans and Russians from Angolan soil and to eliminate the oppression of the Angolan people The following is a recent communique from the UNITA Central Committee on their stand towards the Cuban Mercenaries

---

Comrade Jonas Savimbi, the President of the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), writing from the party's mobile headquarters inside Angola on October 1, 1976, stated

> "North-South, East-West, Angola has become a vast cemetery the Cubans are killing, raping women, and oppressing the survivors just like the Portuguese during colonialism But our Motherland has risen again! Bie Province is now a fortress of our peoples' resistance, Huambo Province has become a quicksand for the Cubans, the entire Moxico Province is a training field for our people, and the Provinces of Cunene and Cuando-Cubango are a ring of fire We are sure victory is within the reach of the struggling people of Angola. Our confidence grows clearer and stronger because the illustrious sons and daughters of Angola are on their feet, learning fast through suffering, while the liars and opportunists have fled For the freedom and liberty of our people, for the peasant-worker majority of the people of Angola to seize their rightful power supremacy, we must pay the price in time, men and women Avante! . "

Angola is now "a vast cemetery" for both Angolans and Cubans More than 20,000 Cuban troops are serving their tour of combat duty in Angola, killing, raping, maiming, exploiting the people, and also getting wounded and killed! Thousands of Cubans have already died and many more will die as Soviet cannon fodder on the battlefield in Angola Fidel Castro has committed the Cuban people to such treacherous, ignominious role against Angola, against Cuba, against the Third World, at the pay of Soviet social imperialism

Throughout the months of July, August and September, 1976, the Provinces of Huambo, Bie, and Moxico along the Benguela railway, and Huila, Cunene and Cuando-Cubango on the southern border came under repeated ground and air raids by large contingents of Cuban troops supported by Soviet tanks and MIG bombers Hundreds of villages have been destroyed by this massive offensive The Napalm bomb has been used against defenseless civilian population, especially along the Benguela railway which they have so desperately in vain tried to reopen

True, press coverage on the continuing war in Angola ceased last July when Western journalists were expelled from Angola by the Luanda government of MPLA-Agostinho Neto Moreover, the international power brokers wish to maintain the Soviet-Cuban solution to Angola, it is not in their interest to publicize the continuation of a war they thought they had won (or allowed to win) But, despite this conspiratorial silence, the truth leaks out and imposes itself And despite the formidable Soviet-Cuban military apparatus, Angola has "risen again" just like it did against Portuguese colonial rule

The Soviet-Cuban puppet minority government of Agostinho Neto is bound to crumble because the people of Angola want freedom, liberty and a DEMOCRATIC government of national unity controlled by the peasant-worker majority, free from any foreign imperialist or social imperialist tutelage Right now, as one Latin American newspaper quoted NATO information sources in Brussels (Belgium) on October 4, 1976,

> "most of Angola's territory is outside the control of Neto's Luanda government Neto's government controls only one third of the country The guerillas of UNITA . have been carrying out their attacks and liberating more and more territory "

★

MINERS' PENSIONS

AND THE STRUGGLE TO SMASH CLASS EXPLOITATION

In 1974 many changes were made in United Mine Workers (UMW) contract provisions dealing with miners' health and pension benefits which can only be seen as improvements over the crumbs previously offered under Tony Boyle At the September UMW convention in Cincinnatti many more additional improvements were aimed for in the contract negotiations scheduled for next year. These improvements, however, both those proposed and those already gained, fail to deal with the basic question of the exploitation of miners under the capitalist system of wage slavery and actually serve to further strengthen the chains which bind coal miners to capitalism by providing both the companies and the UMW bureaucrats with one more weapon in their struggle to stifle the militant movement of rank and file miners and the rising tide of working-class revolution The issue of miners' pensions is a clear example of the fact that under imperialism even the most modest demands of the masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society Because of this, the struggle for these demands must necessarily become a struggle for the abolition of classes and class exploitation

With the ratification of the 1974 contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators of America (BCOA), pensions for miners retiring before 1977 were increased from $150/month to $250/month, while payments for those retiring after 1977 will average $350/month with some, depending on the number of years in the mines and age at retirement, getting up to $500/month Although it is clear that these figures represent a substantial and badly-needed improvement in pension benefits, they are also a reflection of the rising degree of exploitation which miners must endure in order to receive pension benefits which are directly tied to productivity in the mines.

The income of the pension fund, except for the 2-3% gained through investment, is entirely dependent on contributions made by coal companies based either on the tonnage of coal mined alone or on a combination of tonnage and number of hours worked As a result of the 1974 contract, this per-ton royalty which coal companies pay has been increased from 88¢ to $1 70 In spite of this increase, the actual reality which these figures represent can be seen in the instance of a miner who retires at age 60 after 30 years in the mines on a pension of $400/month and lives for another fifteen years In order to collect what's due to him, he would personally have to produce at least 42,000 tons of coal for a pension totalling $4,800/year!

With less than $5000/year between them, many pensioned miners and their wives are forced to take on part-time jobs, spend their life's savings, sell their homes, go on welfare, or else depend on their working sons and daughters to supplement their income For miners unable to work because of Black Lung or other job-related disabilities, things are even tougher, and solutions come harder

While the struggle of working miners for a sufficient pension has forced concessions from the coal companies, the companies in turn have cashed in on every opportunity to turn these concessions around so that they serve their own interests With this aim in mind, the companies have used the question of pension funding to divide miners, thereby preventing their united action, and to exploit mine workers with even greater efficiency by directly binding their future security to the amount of coal produced In order to accomplish this the actions of the UMW bureaucrats like Arnold Miller have been indispensible

Although the UMW bureaucrats have said that "productivity is the company's problem", they have also not hesitated to be "co-operative" One of the ways in which these traitors have "co-operated" is in using the question of pension funding to divide pensioners and older miners from younger miners and play on the concern of all miners for the financial solvency of their union

The rate of exploitation of coal miners, as reflected in the out-put per man-hour, in the U S is five times that of miners in Britain and four times that of miners in W Germany, the only two countries even approaching the productivity figures for the U S coal industry This incredible rate of productivity has held disastrous consequences for miners, with a death figure of 121 in 1976

With rising exploitation and its consequences rank and file miners have increasingly taken up the strike as a basic and essential weapon of defense. As the strike movement in the coal fields has grown both the opera-

---

GROWING OLD UNDER CAPITALISM

AND THE NEED FOR A COMMUNIST PARTY

For working women over 62 and men over 65, retirement is no vacation The cost of living shoots up, while your social security check isn't even half what your paycheck used to be And on top of that, society treats you like you're all used-up, useless people who can't think for themselves anymore, and now really are just a burden on society It's no wonder that so many old people themselves can't see the purpose in living

Old age for the working class under capitalism is an experience that no one should have to go through. Workers in their 50's and 60's have a hard time keeping their jobs, and have an even harder time finding a new job if they are fired or layed-off, in spite of the fact that discrimination on the basis of age is prohibited by law After age 65, many quite able workers are retired regardless of whether they want to be or not, because this also is a law After taking away their jobs, the state makes only a token gesture of caring for older people

Social security benefits are so small that many people are forced to move out of their homes and into apartment houses or "senior citizen retirement centers" when they are in their 60's or 70's. The maximum monthly social security payment is $387 30, hardly enough to pay for taxes, rents, food, medical care, etc , and a far cry from a worker's average monthly income Social security payments can hardly stretch from month to month, so that many people are unable to eat well, or to heat their homes during the winter.

This, of course, increases the chances of becoming ill, or of making chronic illnesses worse People's health, which should be excellent with the number of hospitals, doctors, special clinics, and the vast scientific research done in the U S., is actually quite poor because the vast majority of people are unable to afford it Medicare, the health "insurance" supplied by the state for those over 65, requires a yearly payment from each patient before it can be used This year the patient payment jumped up over 19% to $124 00 Those who need medical care the most because they have worked a life-time in a deafening machine shop and their hearing is damaged, because they stood on a cement floor feeding a printing press for 30 or 40 years and their spine is injured, because they have spent ten hours a day, six days a week, week after week for years bent over a sewing machine in the near-dark and their eyesight is fading, because they have spent the good part of their lives in the dark and dust of a coal mine and they are dying of Black Lung· these are the people, who in their old age, are least able to see a doctor Working people who were more able to take care of their medical needs when they were receiving a wage, are forced to put off medical care indefinitely after retirement, because in the land of plenty, pensions are scarce As a result, a large number of old people must take their problems to the emergency room

On the job, middle-aged and older workers start to become a burden for the capitalists While some workers may be hired for part-time or temporary labor, and others are forced to work overtime, older workers are often threatened with losing their jobs Older workers are never "productive enough" for the capitalists, who are trying to speed-up the work, force overtime, and in any other way, cut costs. The capitalists have a particular noose around the neck of older workers and that noose is the pension.

Workers need their pension in addition to social security payments in order to meet their needs adequately after retirement But in order to get it, they must stay with the company until retirement age, regardless of the conditions at their workplace And this only applies to companies which have a pension for the workers The same "benefactor", the state, which makes laws prohibiting age discrimination, has no provision for demanding companies to give pensions to the workers, therefore aiding the capitalists in their exploiting of the working class.

If workers are layed off at this age, they have a hard time finding new jobs Many workers who have been with a company for ten years or more will be forced out on the street when the shop closes down, changes hands, or cuts production, so that they must start from scratch on a new pay scale, new seniority list, and a new pension And this pattern may very well repeat itself several times in their life

While capitalism is crumbling down around the shoulders of the bourgeoisie, they must do everything in their power to prevent its downfall, and to maintain their profits Something has to give somewhere, of course, and that is why more and more is taken from the working class This accounts for the rising cost of medical care, housing, and food, and the decreasing worth of workers wages and social security And it means that the capitalists cut back the number of workers to whom wages and benefits must be payed to as few as possible, while heightening the exploitation of the employed workers through overtime and speed-up Capitalism in crisis is unable to afford employment of all workers, which is obvious from the "official" national unemployment average of 7.9%.

Older workers are just one group within the whole working class who face this squeeze. The poverty and degenerating health facing workers after retirement is used by the capitalists to exert upon them a most cruel form of oppression

In capitalist society, the producers of all ages are not cherished Older workers' wealth of experience, wisdom, and contributions to society are not recognized, they are only considered useful as long as they produce profit for the capitalist tors and the UMW bureaucrats have made use of every and all means to counter this movement in the interests of productivity, including the question of pension and health funding

The bureaucrats of the UMW have stated that the large number of wildcats which have shaken the coal industry since 1957 have "threatened the stability of the UMWA health and retirement funds" and that "regardless of the issues involved, these strikes have been most damaging not to the coal companies but to the funds which UMWA members fought for generations to build Our activities today threaten the safety and security of the men and women who built our union "

Echoing such demagogic appeals have been the insistent statements of the BCOA that "sustained production is impossible with wildcat strikes Sustained benefits are impossible without production " The messages of both are clear produce and everything will be fine, everyone will benefit, refuse to produce and you hurt yourselves The mutual purpose of these collaborators is equally clear -- to maintain productivity through the sweat and blood of miners as the only means of maintaining profits

During the massive wildcats which hit the coal fields this summer, A Miller repeatedly attempted to intimidate and divide striking miners with threats that such "illegal work stoppages" would cut off pension funds, bankrupt and ultimately destroy the union altogether Miller, in fact, has delivered the ultimatum that if there is "another work stoppage before the end of 1977 the obligations (of the pension fund) cannot be met "

cont p 10

In the socialist countries, where society is based on common ownership of property and the development of the productive forces to serve society, the people are considered the most valuable Older people are respected for their knowledge and experience and honored for their work in building society They are not forcibly retired in their 60's, but continue to work, either at their own jobs, or in training other workers, or in running community centers.

The communist party in the socialist countries sees to it that society develops to serve all the people, and not just a chosen few as it is under capitalism. The party guides the development of agriculture, education, and medical care in the country to bring the conditions and opportunities of the peasantry and agricultural workers up to the level of the population as a whole And the party lays down in law that equality will exist among all people The constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Marriage Law of the Peoples' Republic of China, for example, both call for the responsibility on the part of all families to the younger and older members, unable to care for themselves. The genuine equality which the law requires is ensured by the economic, political and social life that the working people have built under the leadership of the communist party

No such equality can exist under capitalism The poverty, hunger, and degenerating health experienced by workers after retirement is a product of the society which holds individual profit above the well-being of the majority of the people The conditions of old people under capitalism are just one aspect of the conditions experienced by the working class as a whole The conditions of old people again raises the need for a communist party in the United States, to lead the working class to the overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism so that older workers, and the entire working class, will never live in this way again ❖

Lenin and the Trade Union Movement

By A LOSOVSKY

The following is part three of Lenin and the Trade Unions *by Arnold Losovsky, the head of the Red International of Trade Unions It contains many valuable lessons for the development and implementation of a Marxist-Leninist position on trade union work by drawing out the lessons of the Bolshevik experience and the importance of Lenin's position on trade unions for proletarian revolution in the rest of the capitalist world*

For the evolution of the opinions of the R S D L P in general and of its Bolshevist section in particular trade union questions the resolutions of the Stockholm and London congresses are extremely characteristic and significant At the Stockholm Party Congress the Mensheviks had a majority and consequently the formulation which the congress gave to the attitude of the party towards the trade unions bears the earmarks of Menshevist ideology Point four of the resolution of the Stockholm congress states that 'the economic struggle will bring about a permanent betterment of the condition of the working masses and a crystallization of a genuine class organization only if it is properly co-ordinated with the political struggle of the proletariat Thus it is a question of merely co-ordinating the struggle The congress also urged on the other hand that 'the party should support the workers in their tendency to organize in trade unions and do everything possible towards the formation of neutral trade unions The very formulation of this point forced us to think for we Bolsheviks do not speak of neutral unions We speak of unaffiliated unions and between unaffiliated and neutral there is a difference

In opposition to this resolution which was favored by a majority of the congress that is by the Mensheviks the Bolshevist faction moved its own resolution on the trade union question which was drawn up of course with the active participation of Lenin The resolution of the Bolshevist faction puts the question of partisanship on quite a different basis The congress believes the resolution states that the party should make every effort to educate the union workers in the spirit of a clear understanding of the class struggle and of the socialist tasks of the trade unions in order by its activity to gain actual control over the unions and that ultimately these unions might under certain conditions directly affiliate to the party without of course expelling their non part members You see that this formulation contains a strong clearly Bolshevist deflection though it does not yet exhibit the clear cut firm Bolshevist line of the future which was evolved as a result of greater experience in the revolutionary trade union movement

How is the expression the unions might affiliate to the party to be understood? It means organizational connections between the unions and the party which however will secure the labor movement against opportunism only if the party is sufficiently powerful to direct the unions We have countries where the unions are not only affiliated to the party but where they have themselves created the party In Norway as you know the party committee and the Trade Union Council are elected at one and the same meeting We thus see that the Bolshevist resolution at the Stockholm congress contains a definite sharp revolutionary obviously anti Menshevist approach to the question yet this formulation is not sufficiently clear cut for the Bolshevist outlook It did not develop in a day It was not created at once but grew gradually and crystallized with the growth of the labor movement itself

Between the Stockholm congress which was held in 1900 and the London congress a year of organization and practical activities transpired In Russia the struggle between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks was waged all along the front including also the trade union front so that the London congress as expressed in the resolution on the trade union question marked a further step forward in respect of making a clearer formulation of the relations between the party and the unions and of the crystallization of the attitude of the party towards the very intricate question of the place and role of the trade unions in the general class struggle of the proletariat At the London congress the question of the relations beteen the party and the unions was treated in a very short resolution which ends as follows The congress reminds the party organizations and the Social Democrats working in the trade unions that one of the fundamental tasks of the social democratic activities within the union is To promote trade union recognition of the spiritual leadership of the Social Democratic Party and the establishment of organizational connections with them and where the local conditions make it possible to put this decision into effect

We thus have a formulation which recognizes the spiritual leadership of the party and calls for organizational connections between it and the unions though not for organizational unity these two terms are far from being identical in their meaning Organizational connections at that period were understood to mean mutual representation The party had its delegate in the Trade Union Council or as it was then called in the Central Bureau of Trade Unions but the question of whether this bureau as an organization ought to have a representative on the party committee was repeatedly discussed but remained unsettled The Bolshevik position on this question was quite clear Representatives from the trade unions should be persuaded to engage in party work the party itself should participate in the work of the Trade Union Bureau but no representative of this Central Bureau should be invited to the party committee You see how with the growth of the Russian labor movement the struggle within the Social Democratic Party was sharpening and two tendencies were taking shape developing two distinct lines on every question including also the trade union question The first line calling for parallel action by the party and the trade unions ultimately culminated in the ideology of the independence and neutrality of the trade unions the second line calling for close co-operation a close line-up and the spiritual leadership of the party over the unions culminated in that form of the trade union movement which we now have here in Soviet Russia

Lenin again stated his views on the question of the trade unions in an article Trade Union Neutrality published illegally in 1908 ('The Proletarian February 19 1908) Here the question of trade union neutrality is raised with particular acuteness and we find some of those formulaes with which we meet in the post-revolutionary work of Lenin In this article Lenin wrote The class interests of the bourgeoisie inevitably produce a tendency to limit the unions to small narrow activities on the basis of the existing system to remove them from any association with socialism and the neutrality theory is the ideological garb of these bourgeois tendencies During the early development of the political and trade union movement in Europe there was ground for advocating the neutrality of the unions as a means to expand the original basis of the proletarian struggle during the era of its relative undevelopment and the absence of any systematic pressure against the unions on the part of the bourgeoisie At the present time there is no place for trade union neutrality from the point of view of the international social democracy

This was written in 1908 after the Stuttgart Congress

Taking the Russian labor movement between 1908 and 1914 we find here first a period of reaction which lasted approximately up to the beginning of 1912 and then a brief period embracing the years 1912-13-14 which were years of an industrial expansion and of a revival of the labor movement During this revival of the Russian labor movement in 1912-13-14 the Bolshevik attitude towards the trade unions assumed perfectly definite and clear cut forms The struggle against the Mensheviks was centered at that time on the question of the extent to which the legal conditions should be utilized the strengthening of the illegal party and the supremacy or spiritual leadership over the legal trade unions by the illegal party In every field of labor activity and particularly in the trade union field Lenin strenuously fought for spiritual control by the illegal party organization I shall not dwell at length upon that period but shall pass over to the more recent period in the Russian labor movement and to the theoretical and practical questions which were connected with its development and the role which Lenin played in the formulation of the Communist viewpoint on the trade union movement

You know that beginning with February 1917 Russia has experienced a stormy development of trade unionism Russia which entered the revolution with but a few unions had three and a half months later by the time of the Third trade union conference one and one-half million organized workers At this conference (June 20 28 1917) there was a collision between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks This time in a new situation under the conditions of the unfolding revolution the old conflict flared up again with renewed vigor The conference was dominated by Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists Consequently the trade union tasks as formulated by it bear a definite stamp of Menshevism

During the period of revolution the period of the rapid development of events of the development of conflicts at the time when the third trade union conference was in session Lenin wrote two articles on the trade union question focussing his attention upon the organization of the agricultural workers On the surface there appears to be no connection between the trade union conference and Lenin s articles on the creation of an Agricultural Workers Union but it we read this article carefully if we view it from the angle of the unfolding struggle of that period and of the role which the peasant masses were to play in our revolution it will become clear why at the end of June when events were following fast upon each other Lenin raised the question of the organization of a Farm Workers Union Lenin wrote 'The basic role of the party the first commandment of every trade union movement should be Do not rely upon the state rely only upon the power of your class The state is an organization of the class in power Do not rely upon promises rely upon the power of union and upon the consciousness of your class And he continues further on The Farm Workers Union must therefore at once raise as its task not merely the improvement of the conditions of the workers but particularly the protection of their interests as a class during the coming great agrarian transformation

We see that at the time the conference was in session hastily summing up the first results of the industrial organization among city workers Lenin pointed to the necessity of rallying the farm workers to the struggle for he saw that they were to play a serious part in the approaching peasant revolution Thus every time Lenin took up trade union questions he viewed the movement not as something separate and isolated from the general political situation he approached the trade unions as an organized section of the working class movement and later especially during the great discussion on the trade union movement and in a number of articles and speeches prior to this discussion he clearly ascribed to the trade unions a role and position of a part of the complex mechanism of the social struggle He never separated the trade union movement from the political movement but always selected in the trade union movement itself those factors those aspects which were of outstanding importance in the general class struggle of the proletariat at the particular period

STRUGGLE IN STEEL

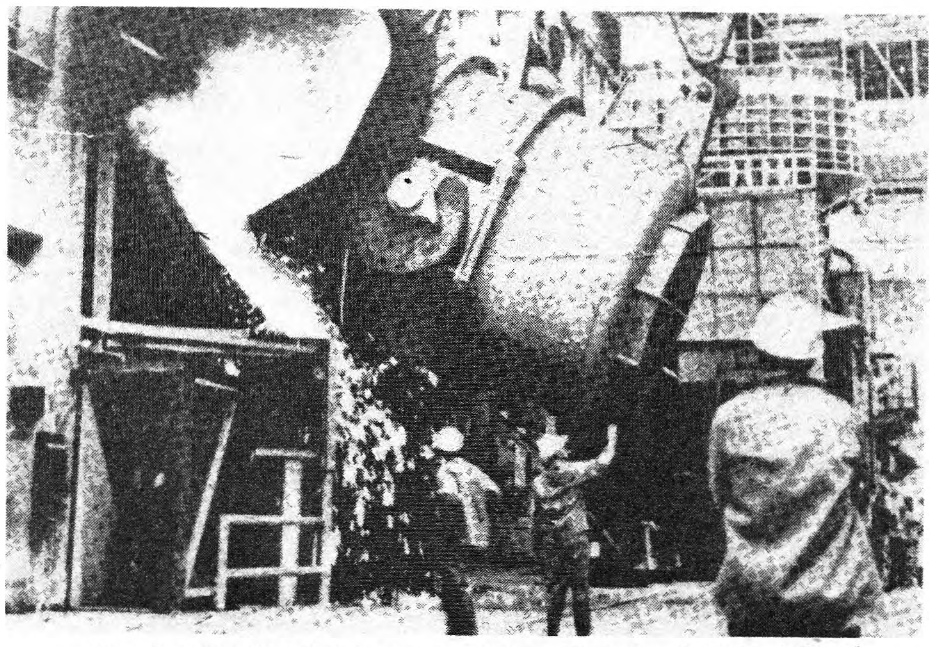
Class Warfare in United Steel Workers Union

Cont from front page

reactionary influence of such actions can be plainly seen in mining where the Miller bureaucracy has increasingly opposed wildcats, and in auto, in Leonard Woodcock's acceptance of auto industry lay-offs coupled with speed-up on the assembly line Through such activities the U S W bureaucrats have become the pace-setters for the bourgeoisie's scramble to "save" capitalism at the expense of the working class

The U S W A is fast approaching a turning point. As the crisis of capitalism finds expression in the sharpening of class contradictions, the United Steelworkers' Union will undoubtedly be a major battlefield of class struggle Such struggle, both against the bourgeoisie and against the opportunist forces of the labor aristocracy and trade union bureaucracy is nothing new for workers of the steel industry

In response to the 1959 steel strike, the longest in history, the bourgeoisie and their agents stepped up their drive for *"industrial peace"* in steel with the establishment of a Human Relations Committee (HRC) which David MacDonald, then U S W president, openly declared would hopefully eliminate strikes in steel "forever" by substituting continuous negotiations for the "needless disruption of production". Because of the sell-out contracts negotiated through the HRC, MacDonald was ousted from his seat as U S W.A. president in 1965 by steel workers who were sick to death of the open collaborationist treachery which was eating away at their wages, jobs, their right to strike, and democracy in their union



Iron being poured into Basic Oxygen Furnace at Inland Steel

ABEL DEFENDS CAPITALISTS

Today, under I W. Abel, steelworkers are faced with the continued loss of jobs to mechanization, increasing health and safety hazards in the mills and plants, and racism And they have been robbed of the right to strike until the contract negotiations of 1980

In 1973 when Abel's Experimental Negotiating Agreement was put into effect, without ratification or debate by the steel workers rank and file it was lauded to the skies by bourgeois hacks as the only solution to the ills of the steel industry, as a new approach to settling disputes "on the basis of reason rather than muscle" The ENA was supposed to allow the U S steel industry to compete more favorably with foreign producers and to boost industrial expansion by eliminating the "costly stockpiling" of steel which the bourgeoisie moaned was costing $80 million yearly By creating more favorable "stable" conditions for the industry it was supposed to eliminate the problem of lay-offs and allow for greater wage increases and "prosperity for all", etc , etc Steelworkers have learned from their own experience that nothing could be further from the truth,

When Abel entered office on the tails of MacDonald's defeat it was on the basis of promises that he would return the United Steelworkers to the rank and file Since then, steelworkers have received nothing, while the bourgeoisie has been given free reign to increase productivity at the expense of the workers The introduction of Basic Oxygen Furnaces (BOFs) and electric furnaces and continuous casting and direct reduction procedures have cost steelworkers 100,000 jobs over the last 20 years, 50,000 of which have been lost in the three years since the introduction of the ENA In Pittsburgh at Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation alone, 2,000 jobs have been lost At the same time, the productivity of those workers remaining has been pushed sky high In 1956 the industry employed 509,000 workers producing 83 million tons of steel annually By 1974 the workforce had been reduced to 393,000 while production rose to 110 million tons

In the face of this the ENA has left steelworkers essentially defenseless in waging struggle against the Big Bourgeoisie of the steel industry According to the ENA all contract issues not resolved through collective bargaining are to be submitted to binding arbitration *National steel strikes are expressly forbidden.* The right of particular locals to call a strike exists only under the following conditions:

(1) The local issue giving rise to the strike must not be covered by or inconsistent with the basic steel contract and must not be an arbitratable grievance,

(2) The strike must begin after the expiration of the basic steel contract and on the day and time specified by I.W. Abel and shall be confined to the plant where it originates,

(3) The strike must be approved by *I W Abel.*

Clearly, even the right of locals to strike is presently nothing but a myth in the U S W A ! Even when locals do manage to meet the above conditions and do manage to have strike action approved by I W Abel, the idea of one local taking on U S Steel, or even Bethlehem, is ludicrous. It allows the bourgeoisie the advantage of monopoly power and organization while effectively neutralizing the industrial strength of steel workers.

The effects which this sell-out has had are even more enraging when combined with the U S W bureaucracy's approach to safety and the oppressive national chauvinism of the companies At U S Steel's coke works in Clairton, Pennsylvania (see article, page 10) coke workers are waging a life-or-death battle to clean up cancer-causing oven emissions in opposition to the present agreement with the company which blocks any real improvements for the next 12 years Meanwhile, coke workers over-all continue to be exposed to a risk of cancer 10 times greater than workers in the rest of the industry

On the question of hiring, firing, and promotion, the implementation of the infamous Consent Decree has, in effect, institutionalized the racist practices of the companies while seemingly granting significant concessions to women and minority workers This agreement, which covers approximately 340,000 workers in basic steel of whom 52,545 are Black, 7,646 Latino, and 10,175 women, objectively cancels out Title 7 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act dealing with the right to file suit against job discrimination Under the Consent Decree, workers charging discrimination must wave all right to file future job bias suits in order to receive back-pay awards. What's more, if a worker refuses back-pay and files suit, the Decree states that the Justice Department will intervene in favor of the industry On the question of seniority, the Decree upholds the right of minority workers to transfer out of lower paying and dangerous jobs without loss of seniority but skirts completely the practice of separate seniority lists for white and minority workers which assures that the actual opportunities for transferring into better job openings are few and far between

The ENA, Consent Decree, and so on, all reflect the fact the U S W like all the other major unions in the U S have, through actions of the trade union bureaucracy, become extensions of the capitalist state *The I W Abels have proven themselves better defenders of the capitalists than the capitalists themselves*

For these bureaucrats the U S W is no small plum to pick. With 1 4 million dues paying members and total assets of $116 million, the interests of the Abel machinery is firmly rooted in the almightly dollar Out of a total yearly payroll of $36 million Abel himself gets nearly $87,000 while 28 district directors each receive $35,000 plus expenses In serving the capitalists these bureaucratic forces plainly serve themselves and will stop at nothing to ensure their absolute control over the union.

U S W. CONVENTION

A perfect example of the bureaucratic manipulation of power within the U S W was given at the recent constitutional convention The 18th convention of the U S W held in Las Vegas at the end of August completely sidestepped the many pressing issues facing steelworkers and instead focused on one single major purpose -- the further consolidation of bureaucratic power within the steelworkers union If any service was performed at this convention for the steelworkers rank and file it was to demonstrate once again the absolute bankruptcy and class collaboration of the trade union bureaucrats and assorted reformists who assembled, on workers' dues, to enjoy the hoopla and degenerate culture of the Nevada gambling casinos

From the outset it was clear that Abel -- and his hand-picked successor, Lloyd McBride, had a firm hold on the convention Abel opened the meet with a classic attack on all progressive elements of the union and a tradtional red baiting campaign The convention was stacked with an estimated 800 staffers alone -- to guarantee absolute control of the business of the convention One Sadlowski supporter even managed to snap pictures of McBride supporters forging credentials -- but was beaten and had his film taken from him. From the beginning to the end, all business of the convention was skilfully managed by Abel and his cronies

Many of the U S W thought that Sadlowski would attempt to take on Abel at the convention, in preparation for his presidential candidacy of the union However, Sadlowski managed his Fight Back organization with little more skill than a cub scout pack, failed to mobilize any serious opposition to Abel on the floor, and was consistently defeated on any floor business. Sadlowski distributed no literature at the convention, held few meetings, and acted as the perfect straight man for the Abel-McBride forces to consolidate their hold over the vast resources of the U S W While Sadlowski took the floor several times, each time he focused on his own self-defense rather than the basic issues facing steel workers

ELECTION COMING UP

The real question of the upcoming election is not who should be elected, but first, whether or not to rely upon the rank and file, and second, the necessity to smash the existing bureaucratic union structure and replace bureaucratic leadership with genuine working-class leadership The recapture of the trade unions by the proletariat will never be achieved through election campaigning alone, and especially not through the election campaigns of reformists like Ed Sadlowski

Union elections, if they are to have full significance for the rank and file, must be a part of, and develop out of, a broad struggle against the capitalist class while fighting to uproot the reactionaries in the union itself. This can only be achieved by working inside the unions and fighting for genuine working-class leadership on every level, from the shop, the plant, the local, the district, and the International This is the basis on which true proletarian leadership will rise and be tested -- in the struggle against the companies, the trade union bureaucrats, and the capitalist class as a whole It will not be brought to the union from the offices of the international headquarters, as Sadlowski plans

The demand of the working class for leadership has arisen on the basis of necessity. The electioneering of Ed Sadlowski does not respond to this demand Ed Sadlowski is not a worker who has come forward in the class struggle against capitalism The Fight Back Organization he has put together in District 31 has gained little support from the rank and file because it has not boldly advanced a program of struggle which represents the rank and file Instead, the Sadlowski forces hope to win the union election in the same way that Jimmy Carter won the presidency -- by demagogically and falsely appealing to the need and desire for change in the U S W for the sole purpose of promoting himself over the interests of the working class *Sadlowski has not built the power*

of the rank and file, Sadlowski has built Sadlowski

Karl Marx, the greatest teacher of the working-class movement, pointed out that the historic task of the trade unions is to fight for the complete emancipation of labor from capital *Sadlowski, on the other hand, advances a program designed to keep workers shackled as wage slaves, but simply better-paid wage slaves*

> "Organized labor's future depends on a movement toward the fundamental goal of the labor movement's winning an equitable share of the nation's wealth for the people who produce that wealth by their labor." (The Nation, 9/6/76)

The reason for this is clear Sadlowski is a reformer, a militant trade-unionist and nothing more. He represents a new generation of labor reformists who see themselves consciously following in the footsteps of Arnold Miller and the Miners for Democracy movement in the United Mine Workers Sadlowski runs on a program of union democracy, he opposes the E N A and the Consent Decree, and has stated that as president, he would not ratify a contract without rank and file approval *But for Sadlowski, and all reformists like him, such things as union democracy, the right to strike, etc , are goals in themselves rather than simply means for the complete emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation.* For this reason, Sadlowski is unable to provide genuine working class leadership to steelworkers

A good example of the limitations of such leadership as Sadlowski would provide can be seen in his stand on the question of coke emissions. At a recent gathering of workers for District 15 in Clairton, PA., the heart of the struggle in the coke industry, Sadlowski simply stated that the exposure time of coke oven workers to cancer causing gases be reduced from eight to six hours! Rather than dealing with the question of why it is that under capitalism workers are killed for the sake of profits and what should be done to eliminate such hazards, Sadlowski offers nothing more than "eight hours pay for six hours work"!

At the same time that reformists like Sadlowski must be exposed for what they are, we must support any move toward the extension of democracy, any small opening that allows communists to agitate toward greater consciousness and organization of the working class. To the extent to which Sadlowski objectively assists the struggle for union democracy, he should be supported. Steelworkers should vote for Sadlowski. But what must be built is not Sadlowski, but the consciousness and organization of the workers' rank and file. This does not mean that we do the work of the reformists themselves.

REVISIONISTS SUPPORT REFORMISTS

Some revisionist groups, such as the "Communist" Party U S A. and the Revolutionary Communist Party openly promote Sadlowski and actively build his campaign This is the stand of class collaboration which marks the unity of revisionists and reformists (See article, Page 10) In the DAILY WORLD ("C" PUSA) and THE STEELWORKER (RCP) Sadlowski is praised and rarely if ever criticized At the recent USW convention the reactionary influence of these revisionist forces was plainly evident On the convention floor, no less than eight official "reporters" from the "C" PUSA created a substantial presence and proved themselves better defenders of Sadlowski than Sadlowski himself.

At the same time, outside the convention (and outside the union), the RCP set up a picture display and sought to get THE STEELWORKER, their "rank and file newspaper" into the hands of steelworkers, with little success Rather than waging a fight inside the convention (and inside the union), the RCP tried to pull steelworkers into their national steelworker organization Rather than waging a battle in front of the workers in the convention against Abel and Sadlowski, they managed to "confront" Abel in a gambling casino and politely present him with an "open letter" At the same time, the RCP consistently supported Sadlowski and made excuses for his poor performance inside the convention. Both the "C"PUSA and the RCP joined hands in trying to mislead the workers into believing that Sadlowski would represent their interests against McBride This is the stand of the reformers themselves, not the working class.

There definitely will be genuine working class candidates that lo emerge in the course of the class struggle, and they must be supported But Sadlowski is not such a candidate

At the same time, there will emerge reformers with whom we will form a bloc in order to gain access to the working class masses, to enlighten them as to the reactionary character of their political and trade union leaders, to sever from the reactionary leaders the sections of the working class that are moving to the left and becoming revolutionized, and consequently, to enhance the fighting ability of the working class as a whole

It is for these reasons that the great proletarian leader Joseph Stalin pointed to the necessity to, at times, form blocs with reformist leaders, or for the party to form a bloc with a reactionary trade union

Comrade Stalin, however, clearly pointed out that two conditions must be met in order to pursue this course of action, "that we are ensured freedom to criticize the reformist leaders, and that the necessary conditions for severing the masses from the reactionary leaders are ensured " (ON THE OPPOSITION, p 358).

Today, in the absence of a vanguard communist party, in the absence of a strong rank and file organization within the union, we are unable to fulfill these two conditions, and therefore we should not form a bloc with Sadlowski We do not work in his campaign actively or build his campaign actively, as does the "C"PUSA, "C"LP and RCP To do so is to do the work of the bourgeoisie itself, to hand over the workers to the laps of the reformists and revisionists

★

Ed Sadlowski

I W Abel

The Struggle Against the LABOR ARISTOCRACY

LENIN ON THE LABOR ARISTOCRACY

> The collapse of the Second International is the collapse of socialist opportunism The latter has grown as a product of the preceding 'peaceful period' in the development of the labor movement That period engendered a tendency to repudiate the class struggle and to preach a class truce, repudiate the socialist revolution, repudiate the very principle of illegal organizations, etc Certain strata of the working class (the bureaucracy of the labor movement and the labor aristocracy, who get a fraction of the profits from the exploitation of the colonies and from the priviledged position of their 'Fatherlands' in the world market), as well as petty-bourgeois sympathizers have proved the social mainstay of these tendencies, and channels of bourgeois influence over the proletariat
> ("The Conference of the RSDLP Groups Abroad", LCW, Vol 21,p 161)

> This stratum of workers-turned bourgeois, or the labor aristocracy, who are quite philistine in their mode of life, in the size of their earnings and in their entire outlook is the principle *social* (not military) *prop of the bourgeoisie* For they are the real *agents of the bourgeosie in the working class movement*, the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, real vehicles of reformism and chauvinism In the civil war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat they inevitably, and in no small numbers, take the side of the bourgeoisie
> ("Imperialism, Highest Stage of Capitalism", LCW, Vol 22, p 193-94)

PIVOT OF OUR TACTICS in the Labor Movement

RCP Comes Out in Steel

On November 5, 1976, THE STEELWORKER, a paper of the Revolutionary Communist Party(RCP) pulled together their forces for a demonstration in front of the U S W headquarters in Pittsburgh On the surface, the demonstration was organized to protest the placing of Local #3059, Babcock and Wilcox Products Division in Alliance, Ohio under administration, on March 5, 1976 In reality, what was accomplished was to pull together RCP cadres from the East Coast area -- from Chicago to Baltimore, for a strategy session on how to destroy the U S W and establish their own dual union In the short run, they have taken the road of supporting Sadlowski to achieve this end -- with the argument that Sadlowski's election would "create better conditions in the union to organize".

As the STEELWORKER stated,

> "...Sadlowski reflects the sentiments and aspirations of the rank and file for a fighting stance against the company, for the right to strike, for a more unified and democratic union .we take up the Sadlowski campaign to put more power, to build more unity, strength and independent action in the hands of the rank and file." (STEELWORKER, Oct p 11)

At one time, the RCP used to talk of "limited support" for the trade union bureaucrats, but now this has been dropped all together as the RCP stands closer and closer to the reformists themselves, and comes to shadow the CPUSA on this question, as they do on the Black National Question, and others

At several plants, the RCP has become a more active organizer for Sadlowski than Sadlowski himself For example, at one union meeting, the RCP actively organized the younger workers to work for Sadlowski, unveiling a bottle of wine to celebrate the victory after the union local voted to support Sadlowski The cry was, "things are really going to start moving now!". The RCP, encouraging this euphoria, even supported the idea that with Sadlowski, the workers might get plush carpet for the lunch room and sex breaks at work, as workers supposedly had gotten in France and Japan.

The revisionist and reformist program of the RCP on Sadlowski and the trade unions bureaucrats must be linked to their fascist opposition to equality in education and to busing, their failure to oppose Soviet social-imperialism and numerous other questions which must be thoroughly exposed and opposed. Many might have thought that the struggle against the RCP, as with the Communist Labor Party and the Progressive Labor Party was over a couple of years ago In fact, the struggle with the revisionist and reformist line of the RCP (as with the CLP, PLP, and certainly the CPUSA) has only really just begun

★

CLP-CPUSA Unity

Barking after Jimmy Carter's coat-tails this November, a pack of labor reformists and revisionists, namely the "C"PUSA, "C"LP, and others, hoped to pick up a few meaty bones from the victory feast of the bourgeois elections by their continued advocacy of the "peaceful transition to socialism" and the use of the ballot to gain state power Despite their seeming differences, these opportunists are all just differently spotted hyenas who share the same lot in life

In the U S these forces have recently exposed once again their traitorous nature This is especially true of the "Communist" Labor Party. In the last few years the "C"LP has moved, step by step, to join with the "C"PUSA, to the point where, today, there is virtually no important difference in their basic program or methods of political scavenging

The recent election campaigns of both offer clear examples of the growing unity between them In Michigan, the "C"LP ran General Baker for the Ninth District (Highland Park-Detroit) of the Michigan state legislature In the course of this campaign, Nelson Peery, chairman of the revisionist "C"LP, openly declared that if the "C"PUSA would vote for General Baker, then the "C"LP would vote for Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, "C"PUSA candidates for President and Vice-President.

Throughout the country, the "C"LP has steadily trod a path over the last few years, following the trail of the "C"PUSA, in complete support of the Soviet social-imperialists Attempting to enter the ranks of the "King Hyenas", the "C"LP has supported several Soviet social-imperialist peace plans (detente) regarding the Middle East Today the "C"LP is actually politicking to merge with the "C"PUSA

While this merger is being carried out, all Marxist-Leninists must be critical of the fact that very little real fire has been directed at these opportunist dogs, and that even less attention was paid to the bourgeois elections -- which left the "opposition" field to be controlled by these reformists and revisionists

Marxist-Leninists seek to utilize all forms of struggle, but we rely only upon armed struggle as the proven course to state power In the course of the struggle for state power, the struggle against the reformists and revisionists such as the "C"PUSA and "C"LP will go hand in hand with the struggle against the entire capitalist class

MINERS' PENSIONS

cont from p 7

This a blatant example of the opportunist "business unionism" which has characterized Miller's bureaucracy from the word go The effect of such an approach to the interests of the working miners is one in which the financial prosperity of the union is counterposed to the need for militant struggle against the bourgeoisie In this regard the "reform" of the UMW has gone through two stages First, a struggle was waged to win economic demands for company funds to raise the standard of living of miners and to ensure retired miners at least a subsistence income after spending their lives and health digging profits for the BCOA Then, after certain successes, these demands, which miners have won through struggle, have become the reason to deny further struggle for fear of jeopardizing what has already been gained! Two facts are clouded by this approach the bourgeoisie's need to exploit, and the proletariat's need to smash exploitation

The demand of mine workers for a decent retirement income, one which is not tied to productivity or the goodwill and prosperity of the company, is clearly one of democratic right, but of a democratic right which the bourgeoisie has no intention of honoring free of charge

Under imperialism the bourgeoisie seeks not merely to compete but to dominate, and not merely profit but the highest possible profit Such profits can only be made through the greatest possible impoverishment of the working class While the coal companies speak glowingly of the fine "updated" benefits which miners now enjoy, miners are still fighting for their basic democratic rights, even the right to unionize They are still losing their arms, their legs, and their lives and are still choking to death slowly from Black Lung while trying to scratch out an existence on a $4,800 yearly pension The fact is that the improvements made in the miners' Health and Pension Fund in the past few years have not been gifts granted by the BCOA or concessions won through the "reasonable and intelligent" approach to bargaining taken by the bureaucrats of the UMW These gains, meager as they are, had to be torn from the hands of the bourgeois coal operators through long and bitter struggle by miners who have no choice but to demand an end to their exploitation

The struggle for such rights as the right to a decent standard of living for retired workers points clearly to the limited nature of democratic rights under capitalism which reserves such rights primarily for the class in power -- the bourgeoisie

While the struggles of working miners have forced concessions from the coal companies the companies in turn have cashed in on every opportunity to turn these concessions around Even so, that does not mean that these concessions are guaranteed because their significance for miners have somehow been lessened. Once a concession has been granted, the bourgeoisie immediately begins efforts to take back what it has been forced to give up The struggle of the working class becomes one of not only seeking new concessions to new demands but of constantly having to maintain those which are already "safely" in hand This is a struggle which must be taken up on two fronts against the bourgeoisie itself, and against its agents within the working class, the trade union bureaucrats

It is the worst kind of opportunism which would grant miners a few crumbs as compensation for their exploitation in return for giving up the goal of eliminating exploitation altogether, of freedom from the crushing weight of wage slavery The continually unstable and incomplete nature of democratic rights under capitalism raises before miners and all workers the ultimate demand for the elimination of exploiting classes entirely as the only means by which even the most modest rights and demands can be guaranteed.

An initial necessary step toward this goal must be the recapture of the trade unions and their re-establishment as true organizing centers for the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat The working class must organize and take up the struggle against the bourgeoisie, not on the basis of illusions concerning the possibilities of reform, but rather on the basis of the recognition that the fundamental interests of workers clash irreconcilably with those of the bourgeosie ❖

Clairton Coke

WHO WILL

On October 1, an agreement was reached between U S. Steel Corporation and county and state pollution-control agencies to clean up U S Steel's enormous coke works in Clairton, near Pittsburgh A similar agreement with federal agencies is in the works If the agreement is ratified after the November 22 hearings, and if it is actually enforced, it will require U S Steel to make the largest expenditure for pollution control ever made by any firm in the United States

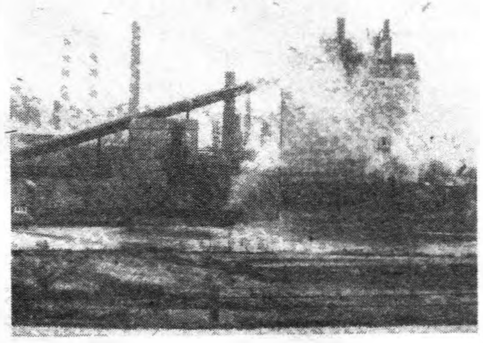
Clairton is a key plant in the steel industry of the U.S The Clairton coke works are the largest in the world Coke is a major ingredient in the making of iron and is also used as a fuel in the iron and steel making process A certain grade of bituminous coal is baked in the "coking" ovens to make coke The coke is then mixed with iron ore and limestone in blast furnaces to make molten iron The gas produced from the coke ovens is used in the final steps of rolling and forming steel into the finished product The gas from the Clairton ovens fires 300 furnaces for other plants in the area through a network of gas lines leading out from Clairton Clairton is the lifeline of U S Steel's six mills in the Monongahela Valley (Irvin, Duquesne, Edgar Thomson, McKeesport, Homestead, and Clairton), providing 60% of the fuel consumed in these plants and supporting the jobs of 58,000 U S Steel workers Clairton directly supports nearly 9% of the total steel production in the U S

Clairton is also vital to the U S economy in other ways The Clairton works is the largest producer in the U S of chemicals from coal The by-products of the coking process are used in fertilizer, anti-freeze, synthetic rubber, resins, dyes, floor tile, plastics, explosives, additives for gas, etc Finally, the energy produced at Clairton is worth $1 5 billion to western Pennsylvania's economy

Clairton's coking process involves loading pulverized coal into the 1,375 ovens, baking it at 2,050 degrees for 18 hours, pushing it out of the ovens into railroad cars and cooling it with water The outmoded process at Clairton uses open-hearth furnaces, whose leaky doors are responsible for a major part of the deadly emissions, and open transport of raw materials to the ovens, which adds a great deal of dust particles to the fumes (the same dust that causes "black lung" in coal miners) This process puts 42,300 tons of pollutants into the atmosphere yearly Of the 82 emissions distilled in the coke-making process, 50 are known to be dangerous, and one of these, benzo-a-pyrene (BAP) has been known as a cancer-inducing agent for years BAP is particularly dangerous because of its effects on the unborn children of women workers (who comprise up to 20% of the work force in some of the plants of the U S coke industry).

In 1975 the Allegheny County Health Department and the Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Resources filed charges against U S Steel for failing to comply with a 1972 agreement to clean up the Clairton Works The agencies charged U S. Steel with 241 violations but U S Steel maintained that it was technologically impossible to fulfill the requirements of the agreement The presiding judge obligingly dissolved the clean-up order (This judge was running for State Supreme Court at the time, and his campaign treasurer was a partner in the same law firm that was representing U S Steel at the trial) The State Supreme Court overturned the dissolution order, and a new judge was appointed, who promptly found the first judge innocent of pro-company bias and ordered *secret* negotiations between the corporation and the government agencies Clearly the state was taking the whole case on a merry-go-round To the capitalist state the most fundamental principle is "due process" to protect the property rights of capitalists the interests of the workers are entirely secondary under bourgeois law

In its resistance to cleaning up the Clairton Works, U S Steel has suggested that if it is forced to carry out the clean-up, it just may decide that it's not worth it and close down the works and move to Ohio. This is pure threat They did close down the coke plant in Gary, Indiana rather than clean it up, but the Gary plant was tiny compared to Clairton, and had nothing like the importance for surrounding plants that Clairton has



UNITE! Photo

At the same time, the stubbornness of U S Steel's resistance reflects the deadly bind that U S capitalism as a whole now finds itself in Steel is at the very heart of capitalist industry For decades, world capitalism has been falling deeper and deeper into a General Crisis from which it can never recover The successful struggles of the peoples of the Third World against imperialist exploitation and oppression have chopped large chunks out of the imperialist sphere of control With the drastic shrinkage of the markets available to imperialist exploitation, the competition among the imperialist powers, especially between the two Superpowers, the U S and the USSR, for the redivision of what's left of the pie is intensifying Not only is U S. imperialism being defeated on every hand by the Third World, but American capitalists are losing ground to their competitors in other capitalist countries The situation in steel is only one example of this After 50 years of being the largest producer of steel in the world, U S Steel has been pushed out of first place by Nippon Steel Corporation of Japan

Capital must grow in order to live But there is little room to expand One way for the capitalists to keep their profit margins up is to intensify the exploitation of the workers Contrary to what the capitalists say, profits are not a "surcharge" added on to the total cost (including wages) of production Profits are the difference between the total product of the workers and the portion of that product (in the form of wages) required to keep the workers alive When the capitalists cannot expand total production and therefore total profits, they can only keep their profits growing by taking more of the workers' share of the product This amounts to the capitalists shifting the burden of their crisis onto the

Struggle and Capitalism's Crisis:
CARRY BURDEN ?

backs of the working class And this is what U S Steel is trying to do

In the steel industry, this has meant squeezing every last drop of production out of obsolete equipment, regardless of the cost to workers' health and safety. It has meant massive layoffs combined with speed-up, forced over-time, and using technological improvements, not to expand production, but to replace workers It has meant reclassifying jobs to lower-paying levels combined with instituting incentive plans that force the workers to produce more just to keep getting their old take-home pay, and measures like the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which take away the workers' right to strike, while resisting more strongly than ever, any meaningful improvements in working conditions that would protect workers' health and safety Every one of these measures applies at Clairton.

U S Steel in particular is faced with a shortage of capital and a lot of old mills But coke production is not the bottleneck for the steel industry in the U S. U S Steel producers have all the coke they need, and would rather put their money into new rolling mills to compete better with Japanese imports of sheet metal, than to improve the coke works to make them safer -- even if that improvement would increase coke production

The Clairton struggle represents one battle in the working class's fight to resist the shifting burden of the General Crisis onto the working class

The long struggle to clean up the air around Clairton and protect the health of coke workers arises out of a purely working class movement, and not out of the so-called "environmental movement" The struggle of the coke oven workers against death-dealing working conditions has its roots in the oppressed position of the working class under capitalism and is an expression of the contradiction between the exploited and the exploiters, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie The struggle at Clairton is a continuation of the historic struggle of the proletariat for humane working conditions that brought about the 8-hour working day, and is part of the overall struggle of the working class for emancipation from wage-slavery

The coke oven workers at Clairton are literally waging a life-and-death battle The conditions are so deadly that the workers refer to the ovens as "gas chambers" and one worker described it as a "cancer-laden hell" The communities around Clairton, where most of the coke workers live, are choking on fumes and grit from the works The coking process at Clairton is outmoded and obsolete, but U S Steel has fought obstinately against putting out any capital investment to clean up the works which would not also increase productivity

The coke oven workers have stepped up their struggle locally and nationally During the United Steel Workers' contract negotiations in 1974, coke oven workers from Bethlehem Steel at Sparrows Point, Maryland, plant went in busloads and forced their way into the contract conference, knowing that "their" negotiators were ignoring their interests The rank and file workers forced the union leadership to include coke oven demands in the contract negotiations, but the union bureaucrats compromised in the end on an agreement to "study the problem" of coke oven emissions. When this agreement was put to a vote in Local 1557 at Clairton it was rejected 512 to 0, but the union's International imposed it anyway Later, the coke oven workers at Sparrows Point went out on strike and after four days were forced back to work by an injunction and threats of heavy fines

The pressure from the workers' movement did force a response from the federal government The Labor Department ordered an Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) Standards Advisory Committee set up, which convened public hearings on coke oven emissions standards But for the workers, the problem is not one of "standards" or of "studying" the situation For workers, the problem is one of doing away with known health hazards and cleaning up obvious and long-standing unsafe working conditions For the capitalists it is a question of "studying" how to cool out the struggle with reforms so as to get on with the business of exploiting the labor of the workers for their own private gain This is the role that the courts and government agencies like OSHA and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) play in the class struggle between workers and capitalists. these agencies of the capitalist state are tools of the capitalist class as is the entire state apparatus for maintaining the rule of the capitalists

The bureaucrats in charge of the United Steel Workers union have demonstrated that they will not lead that struggle to victory The compromises of the bureaucrats in the Sparrows Point struggle and their heavy-handed disregard for the needs and wishes of the workers in the Clairton vote referred to earlier, are just two examples of how the trade union bureaucracy takes its stand with the capitalists and against the workers

I W Abel, the International President of the USWA, has consistently tried to stifle the mass struggle of the workers around the coke oven issue When the Clairton local protested against the secret negotiations ordered by the court in 1975, Abel had one of the local leaders removed from his job on the coke ovens, and put all the locals in Pittsburgh on notice that only he would speak for the workers Later, Abel tried to have the OSHA Standards Advisory Committees public hearings cancelled, and when he couldn't pull that off, he initiated secret meetings with the Committee to work out a deal on the side

These actions reveal the absolute identity between the class stand taken by the trade union bureaucrats and the stand of the capitalists. John Dunlop, the Secretary of Labor, supported Abel's attempts at secret "negotiations", saying that public hearings tended "to maximize antagonism between the parties" But the antagonism between the working class and the capitalists exists objectively, because of the conditions of capitalist exploitation of the working class The workers fight to destroy that contradiction with a resolution favorable to the working class. The trade union bureaucrats and the capitalist state cooperate to maintain "class peace" in the interests of continued capitalist rule and continued privileges for the bureaucrats, crumbs from the imperialist feast-table

This cooperation between the capitalists and their lap-dogs in the trade union bureaucracy does not only come out around this particular question The bureaucrats actively push the ideology and line of the capitalists when they put forward that increasing productivity is the answer to workers' problems As the General Crisis puts more and more of a profit squeeze on the capitalists, the capitalists turn around and step up the productivity push on the workers. They justify this with the line that "the more productive you are, the more profitable our operation will be, the more profits we make, the more money we can invest in new jobs" -- presto! everybody prospers! Their flunkeys in the USWA bureaucracy take up the capitalists' call and actively work to put the capitalists' strategy into practice They set up "Productivity Committees" in the plants, cooperate in the establishment and administration of incentive and bonus plans, and promote the capitalist line that investment in health and safety measures is in contradiction to investment in "new jobs". But the fact is that the more the workers produce for the capitalists, the more the capitalists are enabled to eliminate "extra" workers No matter how much profit the capitalists make, they necessarily choose to invest those profits in a way that will make them more profits, not in a way that will protect workers' health and safety or put more workers on the job

UNITE! Photo

The fact is that unemployment continues to go up in the steel industry while overall profits remain stable or even rise The effects of the General Crisis have hit hard at the steel industry in the Pittsburgh area alone almost 50% of the steelworkers in the Monongahela Valley are unemployed U S Steel's National Tube Works in McKeesport is virtually shut down with 3,720 workers out of 4,200 laid off. The Duquesne Works is operating only one furnace for the first time in its history, and 1,700 out of 5,000 workers are laid off Workers with up to 30 years of seniority are being laid off

U S Steel says this unemployment is partly a result of pollution control expenditures. The trade union bureaucrats say that foreign competition and imports (particularly Japanese) is the major factor Both agree that a contributing factor to the "import problem" is strikes (strikes supposedly force consumers to buy foreign steel instead of domestic). But a glance at the figures show there is no relationship between strikes and imports In reality unemployment is a by-product of the inability of all the capitalists to increase their markets and therefore to increase their total production and total profits This in turn means they must increase the profit margins they get out of existing production by replacing workers with machines (continuous casting, and automated Basic Oxygen processes) and by laying off some workers and putting the rest on overtime. It also means keeping old mills in operation at the expense of the health of workers and their families

The great leader of the working class, Comrade Stalin, pointed out to the working class in 1952, this relationship between capitalist competition and stagnation under the conditions of the General Crisis of capitalism

> "The sphere of exploitation of the world's resources by the major capitalist countries will not expand but contract, that their opportunities for sale in the world market will deteriorate, and that their industries will be operating more and more below capacity That, in fact, is what is meant by the deepening of the crisis of the world capitalist system in connection with the disintegration of the world market "
> ('Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR", WORKS, pp 333-334)

In promoting the capitalist line that the capitalists and workers have a "common interest" in increasing productivity and profitability, and that workers have to make a choice between jobs and health, the bureaucrats of the USWA are actually saying to workers to help get "our" capitalists out of the crisis But the only real way out of the crisis is to eliminate the cause of the crisis. capitalism And that requires that workers continue to struggle against the attempt of the capitalists to shift the burden of their crisis onto the backs of the working class, and that the workers must turn that struggle into an all-out revolutionary fight to overthrow the capitalists

To the extent that the agreement may improve the conditions at the Clairton coke works, (it gives U S Steel 12 years to comply, and immunity from penalties in the meantime!) it does not touch the basic contradictions in the capitalist system that have given rise to these conditions *Clean air and humane working conditions around the coke ovens are not primarily a question of technology, but an aspect of the political struggle between the working class and the capitalist class over the question of which class will own the industries of this country and in whose interests they will be run* In this struggle for power the working class cannot rely on the state apparatus of the capitalists

In order to carry out that struggle, the working class has to rely on its own strength It must recognize that the state, along with all its agencies of "reform" and "regulation" (OSHA, EPA, etc) is neither neutral nor a friend, but a weapon in the hands of the capitalist class It must throw the bureaucrats, the capitalist agents within the working class, out of the trade unions and turn the unions into fighting organization of the class Under the leadership of the communist party the unions will become detachments in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish the rule of the working class. ★

¡Vive Barlow!-Barlow Lives!

This past June 11, Jose "Barlow" Benavidez, a 27 year old Chicano from east Oakland, California, was murdered by a 23 year old rookie cop named Michael Cogley Barlow was on his way to visit a friend's home when he was stopped because his vehicle was said to match the description of a robbery get-away car It didn't matter that there were two suspects seen in the get-away car and that Barlow was driving alone Cogley approached Barlow's parked car with his finger on the trigger of a cocked shotgun, and ordered him to get out and lean across the car When Cogley ordered Barlow to spread his feet further apart, he kicked his leg At that instant the shotgun went off less than 12 inches from Barlow's head, killing him

There were several witnesses in the street at the time One man who began yelling to a gathering crowd that Barlow had been murdered was arrested as the second robbery "suspect" The police failed to properly notify Barlow's family, leaving them to hear of his death via the media Later the coroner refused to let the family see the body, apparently because it was so disfigured

Outrage at this brutal murder was widespread and instantaneous in east Oakland Many community meetings were held in June which lead to the formation of the Jose Barlow Benavidez Committee Against Police Crimes The early struggle by family and friends was aimed at justice for Barlow - getting Cogley tried for murder and off the police force. The police trial was the typical farce Cogley was declared innocent of all charges by his fellow police officers, did a stint in an office, and is currently back on the streets driving the same black and white, carrying the same shotgun, only this time patrolling a predominately Black community in east Oakland Even the early demand for formal condolences from the police department to the family was flatly refused

Through the summer the committee lead a series of militant events from a mass demonstration at the Oakland City Hall to a march and rally through the streets of Oakland on August 29th The August 29th date was chosen because of its significance to the Chicano people and the entire working class as the day in 1970 when police attacked 10,000 people gathered to support the Chicano National Moratorium That day three people were murdered by the police, including the Chicano journalist, Ruben Salazar

During its six-month history, the committee has linked the struggle of the Chicano people to the struggle of the entire working class, and has understood clearly that Barlow's murder was not an isolated incident The Oakland Police Department and city government are acting in accordance with a nationwide policy and practice of police repression and city government conspiracy There has been a conscious linking of the cases of Barlow, Danny Trevino murdered in San Jose, California, Tyrone Guyton murdered in Oakland and Gary Tyler imprisoned on death row in Louisiana At the same time the committee and community have realized the need for mass support and militant struggle if even the basic demand of jailing Cogley is to be realized. The committee has also tried to understand the history of the Chicano people and how the murder of Chicanos, since the war of 1848 between Mexico and the U S has been carried out at the hands of Texas Rangers, vigilante groups, sheriffs, and now police departments. Using many forms of struggle, the family has filed a wrongful death suit against the City of Oakland and the Oakland Police Department, and in response the City of Oakland is going to go ahead and try Barlow's name as the suspected robber These are some of the strengths of the committee.

At the same time, it would be incorrect not to point out that the struggle for a correct plan of action has at times been difficult As in all struggles today, opportunist lines (sacrificing the long term goals of the class struggle for the short term gains) come out into the open and must be combated This may take the form of outright revisionism Revisionists, while claiming to follow the basic teachings of Marx and Lenin, in fact revise these teachings to suit their own wishes and desires, thereby ripping the revolutionary heart out of Marxism-Leninism Such revisionists as the CPUSA ("Communist" Party U S A) are not communists at all, but enemies of the working class, oppressed nations and national minorities. The CPUSA carrying out its bankrupt line of "peaceful transition to socialism", focused its attention only on the legal aspect of the struggle The very struggles of this committee have proved that it is impossible to get justice for Barlow by relying on the courts The courts are part of the capitalist state, as are the police, and serve the interests of the capitalist class not the masses of people

The reformist lines of such organizations as CASA (Centro de Accion Social Autonomo), the narrow nationalist tendencies of some Chicano community organizations, and the opportunist lines of Marxist-Leninist organizations as the October League (OL) and August 29th Movement (ATM) all come into play within the committee. CASA's line was to focus attention on Barlow's case only It took a lot of struggle to link his murder to the campaign against police repression nationwide, which is directed at oppressed nation and national minority people in particular, but in general against the entire working class.

OL and ATM, fail to grasp the correct strategy and tactics of communist work in mass organizations, and the essence of the struggle for democratic rights They tend to see work in committees such as this one from the point of view of narrow self-interest, only as a means to recruit people into their organizations or to use them as appendages of their organizations ATM's work in the Greg Jones Defense Committee is an example of this approach They do not understand that these struggles must be conducted with the purpose of protecting and defending the interests of the multi-national working class now, as well as winning the masses to the side of communism It is only through principled and disciplined communist work within the class that the masses will be won to the side of communism At the same time, it is only through the struggle against imperialism that opportunism will be exposed and defeated in the working class and national movements

While we must wage consistent struggle against all forms of opportunism, the mistaken practice of utilizing the floor of committee meetings to carry out polemics amongst themselves, as OL and ATM did, leads only to isolation from the class What actually happened, in this case, was that OL and ATM were eventually kicked out of the committee Other individual Marxist-Leninists and organizations, including IWK (I Wor Kuen) left the committee "on principle" when OL and ATM were kicked out This "correct" principle in practice leaves the class in the hands of opportunist and revisionist influence, and objectively denies the necessity of bringing communism to the masses

These struggles have shed light upon both the state of the communist movement and the actual needs of the working class struggle today It is through these struggles that the actual fusion of the working class and communism will take place The will and determination of the genuine and progressive people in the Benavidez committee and the east Oakland community is strong While there have been setbacks, the goals remain clear and the struggle continues

On November 20th the committee sponsored a Community Conference Against Police Crimes that was attended by approximately 175 people In attendance were individuals and groups from all over California, including CAPA (Coalition Against Police Abuse), the Santa Monica Legal Defense Committee, a group from Cal State Los Angeles The conference was held in a school that Emilio Benavidez, Barlow's brother, attended as a young child. It was in this very school that he had his mouth washed out with soap because he did not speak English.

The brutal murder of a Chicano brother signifies two important things. *First, the violent class and national oppression by the bourgeois state, by the "palace guard" of the capitalist class - the police It points out the utter bankruptcy of this class rule It shows clearly that the capitalist economic and social system is in utter contradiction with the needs of the vast majority of people* Barlow's murder, as well as the murder of scores of other Chicano people, points to the qualitative difference between the oppression of the Chicano people and the working class as a whole These murders point to the open, terroristic violence perpetrated upon Chicanos and their lack of basic democratic rights, in Barlow's case - the freedom to go about ones affairs without harassment

The general crisis of capitalism, deepening each day, is a crisis that the bourgeoisie cannot turn around It is in their attempts to stall off the consequences of the crisis, to hold on a little longer, that they rely on brutal repression to keep the working class in line Police repression comes down even harder in direct proportion to the organization and militant resistance of the working class, national minorities and oppressed nations As Emilio Benavidez pointed out at the conference, "We are forced to maximum resistence for a minimal existence - just the freedom from being murdered on the streets."

The second important thing signified by Barlow's death and the militant organization and resistance that has occured as a result is that the Chicano people are developing a broader and deeper understanding of the source of their exploitation and oppression The people of east Oakland have turned their sorrow into strength and their slogan is "Vive Barlow-Barlow lives!"

At the conference portions of the film "Requiem 29" were shown, the film of the August 29th demonstration Those portions showed the armed police attack on the Chicano People and their heroic

Cont p 13

resistance We look to the day when we, the multi-national working class actively constitute a superior force that can drive our armed aggressors and the ruthless class they serve off the face of the earth! *Today it is the duty of all class conscious people to take up the struggle for the free exercise of their democratic rights While we recognize that true democracy can never be a reality under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, it is through this struggle that the multi-national working class can forge the unity needed to successfully resist our class enemies It is through this struggle led by a proletarian political party, the communist party, that we can overthrow this reactionary class rule and seize state power for the working class We must support the just struggle of the Chicano people in deeds as well as words!*

JAIL COGLEY NOW!
FREE EXERCISE OF ALL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS BY THE CHICANO PEOPLE!
WORKERS, OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Mississippi Lynching

On September 8, 1976, sixteen year old James Edward Calhoune was found floating face down in the Sunflower River, Sunflower County, Mississippi, his hands tied behind his back and shot in the chest

Terry Barr, white, 24 years old, has been charged with the murder of Calhoune. Barr's defense lawyers have pleaded insanity, and Barr is now being held in the maximum security section of the Mississippi State Hospital for the criminally insane in Jackson A trial will most likely occur in the end of February, in Indianola, where the body was found

The brutal lynching of Calhoune is not new in the Black Belt, and is one more terrible example of the legal lynchings described by Harry Haywood in the recent series run in UNITE! As is often the case, Barr alleges that Calhoune raped his wife

Both Calhoune and Barr are from Greenville, Bolivar county Bolivar county is 61% Black, over 60% rural, and 44% of the families in the county live below the official poverty level This is the heart of the rural Black Belt, and the historic location of slave breeding. The northwest corner of Mississippi has the largest concentration of rural Black population in the country, and in many ways, is a vivid expression of the conditions which characterize the historically constituted, stable community of people with a common territory, language, economic life and pyschological makeup manifested in a common culture which are the features of an oppressed nation

This corner of Mississippi is the scene of some of the most fascist, brutal chapters in the history of the Afro-American people Obviously concerned about the publicity, the Sheriff of Indianola, in an interview stated "The South is a new country now I personally have never owned slaves and never been a night rider We even have Blacks on the Sheriff Department This is a wide open society where Black and White live together "

The oppressed masses of the Black Belt, and the entire country will be watching to test the truth of these words. We demand justice for the murder of James Edward Calhoune We demand an end to legal lynching and fascist terror in the Black Belt South

END LEGAL LYNCHINGS IN THE BLACK BELT SOUTH!

STOP FASCIST TERROR IN THE BLACK BELT!

SELF-DETERMINATION, UP TO AND INCLUDING SECESSION FOR THE BLACK NATION!

UNITY and STRUGGLE

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE(M-L-M) with vital information and analyses of the working class and oppressed nationalities against imperialism and social imperialism, monopoly capitalism and national oppression

Subscribe Now!
12 issues $2.40 **24 issues $4 80**

Name ______
Address ______
City State ______ Zip ______

BOX 1181
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY 07102

Census of Oppression

What follows is a casualty list Not a complete list, but a partial one. Jose Barlow Benavidez's murder does not stand alone This list is only a drop in the bucket compared to the hundreds of people killed by the forces of the state every year across this country The approximate five year period reveals 60 people killed and scores wounded in the Southwest United States.

Antonio Cordova Rito Canales	Jan 1972-	Black Mesa, New Mexico	Dead
James D Bradford	Apr 1972-	Sante Fe, New Mexico	Dead
Gilbert Mora	June 1972-	Los Angeles, California	Wounded
Rufino Hernandez Paul Canales Michael McArthur	July 1972-	Denver, Colorado	Wounded
James Gallegos	July 1972-	Denver, Colorado	Wounded
Alfonso Lareco Flores	Feb. 1973-	San Antonio, Texas	Dead
Luis Martinez	Mar 1973-	Denver, Colorado	Dead
Ernesto Virgil	Apr 1973-	Denver, Colorado	Wounded
Santos Rodriquez	July 1973-	Dallas, Texas	Dead
Victor Manzo	Aug 1973-	Los Angeles, California	Wounded
Nagi Daifullah	Aug 1973-	Los Angeles, California	Dead
Roland Thomas	Aug 1973-	San Francisco, California	Dead
Linda Montoya	Sept 1973-	Santa Fe, New Mexico	Dead
Jose Morfin	Sept.1973-	Santa Fe, New Mexico	Wounded
Alberto Terrones	Apr 1974-	Union City, California	Dead
Raymond Garcia	Apr 1974-	Arizona	Wounded
Edward Garcia Michael Tomaselli	Apr 1974-	Los Angeles, California	Dead
Fred Casrrasco Rudulfo Dominquez Elizabeth Beseda Julia Standley	Aug 1974-	Huntsville, Texas	Dead
George Mendez	Sept.1974-	Los Angeles, California	Dead
Steve Delgado	Nov 1974-	Los Angeles, California	Wounded
Carlos Ortiz	Nov 1974-	El Paso, Texas	Dead
Easel Venice Heslip	Nov. 1974-	El Paso, Texas	Dead
Roy Gallegos	Nov 1974-	Sante Fe, New Mexico	Dead
Perry Miller	Nov 1974-	El Paso, Texas	Dead
Fred Bella	Nov 1974-	Boulder, Colorado	Wounded
Semillion Ester	Feb 1975-	Oakland, California	Dead
Eddie Robles	Feb 1975-	Los Angeles, California	Dead
Thomas Aragon	Feb 1975-	Denver, Colorado	Dead
David Costa	Apr 1975-	Tucson, Arizona	Wounded
Joseph Cordero	Apr 1975-	Albuquerque, New Mexico	Wounded
Edward Reyes Espinoza	May 1975 -	Guadalupe, Arizona	Dead
Raymond Arellano	May 1975 -	Los Angeles, California	Dead
Tobias Perez	June 1975-	Denver, Colorado	Dead
Alfredo Rodriquez	July 1975-	Presidio, Texas	Wounded
Floyd Calhoun	Aug 1975-	Oakland, California	Dead
Richard Morales	Sept 1975-	Castroville, Texas	Dead
Timothy Grandpre	Oct 1975-	San Antonio, Texas	Dead
Roberto Rangel Zavala	Dec 1975-	San Antonio, Texas	Dead
Richard Guiterrez	Dec. 1975-	Clayton, New Mexico	Dead
Danny Trevino	Jan. 1976-	San Jose, California	Dead
Elfego Mendoza-Ochoa	Mar 1976-	Lukeville, Arizona	Wounded
Nino Pedro Cruz	Mar 1976-	Mariopa, Arizona	Wounded
Fernando Campos III	Mar. 1976-	El Paso, Texas	Dead
Isaac Melindez Ibarra	Mar 1976-	Albuquerque, New Mexico	Dead
Sammy Sanchez	Mar 1976-	Albuquerque, New Mexico	Dead
Unnamed youth	May 1976 -	Los Angeles, California	Dead
Unnamed youth	May 1976 -	Los Angeles, California	Wounded
Mario Rodriquez	May 1976 -	Los Angeles, California	Dead
Fabian Pacheco	May 1976 -	Rio Arriba, New Mexico	Wounded
Carl Newland	May 1976 -	Denver, Colorado	Dead
Jose Barlow Benavidez	June 1976-	Oakland, California	Dead
Corelio Balderas Loredo	Sept 1976-	Los Fresnos, Texas	Dead
19 Unnamed youths	July 1975- Aug 1976-	San Antonio, Texas	Dead

(Compiled by the Jose Barlow Benavidez Committee Against Police Crimes)

National Oppression & RESISTANCE!

HOUSING IN THE BLACK BELT SOUTH

Forty-five minutes from Washington D C in southeastern Prince George's County, Roosevelt Collins grows 3½ acres of tobacco each year This year, if he is lucky, Roosevelt says that his crop may bring in $600 in profit Half of that money he will keep, the other half will go to a Washington D C physician who owns the land Collins farms Collins is a sharecropper, giving half of what he grows in return for the house he lives in and some fertilizer The six people in the Collins family live in a ramshackle wooden house that has no plumbing, no heat and no electricity. The house is unpainted and has several broken windows, which are stuffed with rags to keep out the wind What heat there is comes from a wood stove, and the only water comes from a hand-pumped well several hundred yards from the house There is no indoor plumbing whatever

At 49 years of age, Mr Collins is in no position to look for a new way to earn a living He says, "I think we would have gotten along better if we'd have stayed down in Georgia " Last year the Collins family's average monthly income, counting both the tobacco and the occasional day labor by Roosevelt and his wife, came to $70 "I don't like it all that good, but I ain't got no choice," Collins said, "I survive You got people in town that can't pay no rent . They got troubles, too

You can't make no money on a farm If I could have worked at something else " he shrugged, not finishing his thoughts

Even though the situation of sharecroppers is probably the worst, Mr. Collins is right There are people in town who can't pay their rent and have troubles too And most of them don't live in any better housing than the Collins's This is the housing situation of workers and farmers in the United States, whether in the rural South in counties like Prince George's, Maryland, or in the ghettoes of Chicago

At the same time that the construction industry is in its biggest slump ever in building homes, because the banks refuse to invest their capital in personal loans, the masses of people in the U S. live either in substandard housing or pay outrageous amounts for the moderate housing they can find Everywhere housing is in shortage, and especially in the South

A recent Southern Regional Council study by Marsha Hudgins notes

> "You do not have to look far to find the dilapidated housing that statisticians tell us comprises 12 7 percent of all shelter for Southern families
>
> "Drive through the countryside, off the superhighways, on to the two lane blacktops that still connect the cities and towns A house sits on rude brick pillars A well is visible in back, along with the familiar architecture euphemistically described as outdoor plumbing Children play in the front yard The house may have been built thirty years ago, or forty It does not, in any event, look as if it will last much longer, and it has probably looked that way for many years already It is unpainted and the roof is wearing off In winter the wind will blow through the holes in the walls The fire in the fireplace will not keep the children warm In the summer the inside of the place will be like an oven. Flies and mosquitoes will come through the holes in the screened windows In both seasons there is an air of unrelieved hopelessness in the lives of the people who live there "

In eight of the fifteen Southern states the percent of the occupied housing which is dilapidated and substandard is above 15% with Mississippi leading with 24 7%, or one-fourth of all housing as substandard and dilapidated Dilapidated and substandard housing is where either the house is so run down that it is "undesirable" or it lacks one or more elements of plumbing, Not surprisingly the situation in more urban Southern states, such as Maryland, where the Collins live and Florida, are better in general, but even in these two states, the number of substandard houses is nearly a quarter of a million

While 66% of the substandard housing in the South as a whole is in the rural areas, in some states it is much higher, for example West Virginia, 87 4%, Kentucky, 83 5%, with Virginia, Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina, Mississippi, and Arkansas all in the mid- to high-70 percentages

As is to be expected with the exploitation and oppression of the Black Nation, a disproportionate number of Black families live in substandard housing Only about 9% of the non-Blacks in the South live in substandard housing while 36% of the Blacks do In South Carolina and Florida, the concentration of Black households needing better housing is 6 5 times greater than that of non-Blacks

In three states, Mississippi, South Carolina and Arkansas, over 50% of the Black families live in substandard housing, while in five other states, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia, over 35% of the Blacks live in substandard housing With the economic exploitation and political oppression so great for Blacks in the South, it is no wonder that this is the case The median family income for Black families is $6,730, compared with $12,050 for whites, or only 56%.

Substandard and dilapidated housing, and all the statistics about them, are only the physical symbols of the exploitation and oppression of the people, like Roosevelt Collins and his family, who have been given no choice under capitalism but to live in these shanties and shacks It has been 26 years since Collins and his family moved to Maryland from Georgia, and in those 26 years there has been little change in their life In Georgia, Collins sharecropped cotton and peanuts, in Maryland tobacco

Today there are almost 2½ million families in the South who live in substandard housing, many of them (over 25% or 600,000 families) in housing that is also overcrowded

Most of this housing is over 40 years old, but no new housing is being made available In the South as a whole, only 1% of the urban housing was available for sale and only 1 6% of the rural, while only 7 5% of the urban and 4 5% of the rural housing was available for rent. Even so, over two million or 82% of the 2.4 million families living in substandard housing had incomes insufficient to afford adequate housing even if it were available 88% of the elderly families had an income of less than $4,000 per year, and 77% of the other families had an income of less than $7,000 At the same time, almost 10% of all these families paid over 25% of their income for housing alone

With the continued depletion of housing due to its lack of upkeep and with the movement of more families into the South because of the relatively rapid industrialization, it is estimated that by 1980 there will be a need for an additional 6,700,000 residences for Southern families Of these, 5,400,000 will need government subsidies of their housing costs in order to afford this new housing 85% of these families will each require greater amounts of money every year than the bourgeois state has ever given to subsidized housing

However, whatever the bourgeoisie and their servants, the bourgeois politicians, may promise, they cannot hide the ugly reality of the continuation of this situation for workers Housing shortages are a permanent part of capitalism, a product of the monopoly ownership of the land, used first and foremost for the construction of profit-making industrial and financial centers, and not for workers' housing Housing shortages will only be eliminated after the seizure of state power by the working class and the building of socialism. Until that time the bourgeoisie will maintain this shortage in order to get the highest profits from the exploitation of the working people, strengthening especially its grip on the Black Nation in the South, where the bourgeoisie is now focusing the development of industry and agri-business

It is precisely for such reasons as the every-day need for adequate living conditions, that the working masses, both in the cities and in the country, must be rallied around the leadership of the vanguard communist party Only with this vanguard will the masses throw off the burden of exploitation and oppression, and liberate themselves from the heavy hand of the capitalists and landlords. ❖

NORRIS PARDONED

On October 25, 1976, Clarence Norris, the sole survivor of the Scottsboro case, was pardoned of all crimes by George Wallace, Governor of Alabama, forty-five years and six months after he and eight other Black youths were ordered off a freight train in Paint Rock, Alabama and were arrested and accused of raping two young white women Despite mass reaction built by the work of communists to this injustice of national oppression, all nine, then ranging in ages from 13 to 21, were convicted and sentenced to death, even though no conclusive evidence was ever produced in the trial.

Through long court battles, with wide-spread support of the working masses, the convictions were twice set aside on various appeals, but on a third try the state of Alabama had the convictions upheld Mr Norris served five years on death row, and after his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, ten more years before his parole After being released on parole, Mr. Norris immediately left Alabama and has spent the last thirty years as a fugitive for violating Alabama's parole regulation.

Now 64 years old, Mr. Norris works as a warehouseman for the city of New York At last he is freed of all charges, and as he said, "a great, great burden has been lifted off of me... They said that I was a nobody, a dog, but I stood up, and I said the truth Somebody's got to do these things in life " Reflecting on the fifteen years of his life that were taken from him, Mr Norris said, "The lessons to Black people to my children, to everybody, is that you should always fight for your rights, even if it kills you. That's all that life consists of "

This is a great lesson which comes from over forty-five years of struggle, and which should serve as an inspiration to all revolutionary minded people to take up the struggle for the highest right of the oppressed Black Nation, the right to self-determination, up to and including secession. In this way, a great tribute can be paid to Clarence Norris and the other Scottsboro Boys, who have long been an inspiration in the fight for the liberation of Black people everywhere.

•EBONY Fashion Fair

On October 31 the 1976-77 EBONY FASHION FAIR toured Atlanta, Georgia In 6 months this show visits 154 cities coast-to coast An "... 'institution' in the fashion and social world", it is under the personal direction of Mrs. Eunice W. Johnson, a leading member of the Black bourgeoisie. The millionaire Johnson family owns and controls Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., publishers of EBONY and JET magazines.

Twelve models pranced and danced across the stage at the Atlanta Civic Center in a collection of clothes "... not meant for the masses but for the woman who travels with forty suitcases." The designs featured: the "folkloric and peasant look", "slinky, slithery tunics","pizazz and sparkle" from the Black designers, and "futuristic fashions"

"Dreamable fabrics", from suede to velvet, satin, alpaca, cashmere, lynx, fox, feathers, and the "weightless whisper of Chantilly lace", were combined in a "revolutionary technique" to produce a "museum type of collection".

Sex was peddled wholesale, with "dresses...more feminine with deep necklines and thigh-high slits made out of sheer, see-through fabrics". Sheer, scanty strings with flowers on the top piece were flaunted as bathing suits. (Publisher John H. Johnson personally picked them out!)

The show closed with a black, billowing tunic dress, spun with 14 carat gold thread, and purchased for Mrs Johnson's personal use for $5,000.00!

Does all of this sound unreal? Unfortunately it is not. It is an all too familiar example of the decadence and degeneracy of bourgeois culture, the dominant culture in capitalist society, the culture of the ruling class who exploits and oppresses the great majority of people in the United States.

The FASHION FAIR is more than a show, says one of its sponsors from the National Urban League. It is "a memorable event and an immeasurable inspiration to young Black folk who, too long locked in a dim and dreary psychic dungeon, have been unable to behold their own beauty or to recognize their real worth." But the FASHION FAIR is a pure mockery of the real conditions that the majority of Black people find themselves in under capitalism, and it offers no consolation or solution

Working and oppressed peoples are increasingly unable to adequately and inexpensively clothe themselves and their children, while a wealthy few clothe themselves in fur and lace to zip to cocktails and dinner in a "casual but elegant style".

Working and oppressed peoples are dominated by a poisonous culture that glorifies fashion too expensive for mass use, and too flimsy to last The design and materials of this fashion would prove lethal around any type of machine and totally unusable for office or secretarial work because they are not made for working people These clothes are created exclusively for the sensual and decadent pleasures of the ruling class.

This conspicuous, opulent waste is another feature of a degenerate culture, a bourgeois culture in its death throes: a violent, sex-dominated, crime-ridden culture that is inevitable as long as capitalism continues its oppressive and exploitative rule. That class that rules creates the dominant culture As long as the capitalists exercise their dictatorship we will suffer their culture.

The increasing decadence and degeneracy of bourgeois culture is one feature of the all round general crisis of capitalism. ●

Unionizing of J.P. Stevens Crucial for South

Of all areas in the country, the South is the least unionized It has the most "right to work" states, the weakest unions, the most runaway shops within the borders of the U S , the lowest wages and the poorest working conditions of any area of the country Due to the exploitation and oppression of the Black Nation these condtions have prevailed over a long historical period, and for these very reasons there is today the largest relocation of heavy industry in the South that the U S has had outside of a time of open imperialist war

Long ago J P Stevens, a large textile firm which owns 89 factories employing 46,000 workers, took advantage of these conditions While in 1974 the company had record profits of 39 4 million dollars, in its factories it pays its employes 31% below the median wage received nationally by factory workers For a pension a J P Stevens worker who was steadily employed for thirty years would receive roughly $3,600 in a single payment upon retirement, and nothing more This is less than $10 per month for every month worked

Besides poor compensation for selling their labor power, the working conditions at Stevens' plants are incredibly destructive Dust levels are three times as thick as national minimum health standards allow, causing byssinosis, or Brown Lung, among thousands of Stevens' Workers due to the constant cotton dust trapped in their lungs Noise levels, caused by the clatter of the weaving and milling machinery are also far above national health standards causing widespread deafness and hearing impairment among workers Even though noise dampening and ventilating equipment is relatively inexpensive, Stevens won't spend the money to control the noise,or the dust For generations, Stevens has chosen profits over people.

In August, 1974 workers at seven Stevens plants voted to join a union, the Textile Workers Union of America Since that time the company has refused to even grant a contract The workers are asking for

- a 10% raise
- eight payed holidays a year instead of five
- three weeks vacation with pay after fifteen years with the company
- insurance and pension plans that begin to compare with the national average
- a greivance procedure to protect workers from being threatened or abused on the job

This last point is especially important for workers throughout the textile industry, and indeed throughout the south Since the 1930's the textile industry has repulsed a succession of much-publicized "Operation Dixie" drives to unionize plants in the South. J P Stevens itself has spent millions of dollars in its attempt to prevent workers from exercising their basic democratic right to unionize

J P Stevens has fired workers with as much as 30 years on the job for attending union meetings and for speaking to fellow workers about the union They have threatened others with firing, and have been ordered to reimburse 289 workers over 1 3 million dollars in back pay because the company fired them to keep them from joining the union Charged with wire-tapping the phones of union organizers, Stevens settled out-of-court on a suit filed by the union, with a payment of $50,000 The company has also brought pressure on the employees through their connection with local banks and finance companies by applying pressure for repayment of loans and the refusal to grant new ones during the hotly contested union vote

J P Stevens workers march in Roanoke Rapids N C

Today, 22 workers at the company's big mill at Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, the only Stevens mill to ever cast a majority vote in favor of the union, are busily circulating a petition to revoke the two-year-old certification of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union as exclusive collective bargaining agent They have formed the J P Stevens Employees Educational Committee with the double purpose of ousting the union and of compelling it to abandon its chief weapon, a consumer boycott of Stevens' products, which is being launched on a world-wide basis This is an old tactic of the companies In earlier unionizing drives, so-called "Loyalty Leagues" were formed in steel and other industries to combat unionization Most were subsequently shown to be company fronts, supported financially and politically by the capitalists

On September 5, Stevens workers from Roanoke Rapids, N C , Milledgeville, and Tifton, GA , Franklin County, VA , Montgomery, ALA , and their supporters gathered in this northeastern North Carolina textile town to celebrate the second anniversary of the election victory that enabled the Textile Workers Union of America (Now merged with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, forming the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers - ACTWU) to represent Stevens workers in Roanoke Rapids The rally, march, and dinner also marked the official start of the boycott of products produced by the New York based, billion dollar textile giant.

Unions are no stranger to the people of Roanoke Rapids There is a large paperworkers local in town and the old textile workers union conducted major, unsuccessful organizing drives in 1959 and 1963-65 It was in these drives that much of the local leadership developed, but they also thoroughly convinced others that the union wrecked people's lives Of course, the union had little control over the mass firings Stevens so frequently used to kill those organizing efforts Stevens could also rely on the National Labor Relations Board, (NLRB) as part of the capitalist state, to slowly turn out decisions which allow the company to defeat the union

But the workforce did not remain stable in the nine years preceding the victorious vote of 1974. The percentage of Black workers, many of them experienced in challenging oppression through their involvement in the civil rights movement, had increased from 10% to approximately 25% of the textile workforce in the seven plants owned by Stevens And this sizable minority proved to be the cutting edge in the vote

Having won their right to bargain, the workers in Roanoke Rapids settled in for a long struggle with the company for a contract Two years later the company still has yet to seriously bargain on the union proposals regarding arbitration, seniority, checkoffs, and other issues that form the meat of a contract Consequently, the union filed charges with the NLRB that the union had failed to "bargain in good faith" and the trial begins November1 in Roanoke Rapids

Stevens knows what the consequences of a union contract are They could no longer use the lies in their propaganda that the union won't make a difference in working conditions or wage rates, that the union will turn tail and run in a minute if they see they can't get the workers money in their pockets without too tough a fight Roanoke Rapids would stand out as a beacon to all Stevens workers in the South, encouraging them to use the union against the daily oppression and manipulation by the textile bosses

The importance of unionizing the factories, mills and mines of the South for the working-class struggle cannot be overemphasized Without the broadest organizing of trade unions in the South, the integration of Southern workers, both Black and White, into the struggle of the proletariat for the seizure of state power will be greatly extended The building of multinational unity and the struggle for the right of self-determination for the Black Nation will also be moved forward when it is taken up by the masses of workers organized into trade unions in the South, a task which communists must actively take up

In building support of the boycott of Stevens' goods, friends should take the time to carefully check all fabric, towels, bedsheets, etc and many other consumer goods Because of the variety of items, as consumer boycotts go, this will not be as easy as boycotting grapes, a particular brand of wine, or a certain brand of slacks However, the struggle to unionize the South will take the efforts of all workers to be successful

Progressive groups across North Carolina are rallying to the side of the workers in Roanoke Rapids and as the boycott heightens the level of support will come in more active ways Until then, the workers of Roanoke Rapids will undoubtedly continue to stand fast in the fight to win a contract ★

MAO TSETUNG

December 26, 1893 - September 9, 1976

**"Of all things in the world,
people are the most precious."**

Pamphlets from the MLOC:

IN COMMEMORATION OF MAO TSETUNG
$0 50, 36 pages

Issued by the Central Committee of the MLOC, this commemoration traces the life and legacy of Comrade Mao Tsetung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the modern era This is a good introduction to Mao Tsetung Thought for a worker.

NEW!
Available in January 1977

ALL FOR ONE, ONE FOR ALL
Socialism in Albania

Written in a mass style, this pamphlet will explain the history of the liberation struggle in Albania, socialist construction, and how the dictatorship of the proletariat effects peoples daily lives. The role of the Party of Labor of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha in guiding these achievements, and in the international struggle against the two Superpowers and modern revisionism will be traced.

A perfect introduction to socialism for workers.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE TASKS OF COMMUNISTS
$1.50, 63 pages

A reprint of a resolution from the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1928. This classic Marxist-Leninist work explains the different kinds of war, the attitude of communists toward war, and how an imperialist war can be turned into a civil war.